

**Respectability, morality and reputation: Social representations of intimate partner
violence against women in Cape Town**

Taryn J. van Niekerk

Thesis Presented for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Psychology

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Supervisor: Associate Prof F. Boonzaier

November 2014

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

ABSTRACT

This study examined the social representations of intimate partner violence (IPV) that emerged amongst violent men, their social networks and within the media, and framed within social representations theory and feminist poststructuralism. In-depth individual interviews were conducted with 11 men, recruited from two men's programmes at an NGO, and seven focus group discussions were conducted with the men's social networks. A total of 113 reports on violence against women were collected from two newspapers that draw the largest readership in the Cape Town area. A thematic decomposition analysis – emphasising language, power and subjectivity – revealed how participants' representations of respectability, morality, and reputation served to maintain patriarchy, and make violence permissible. The findings also shed light on the polarity of human thought, demonstrating how 'non-valid' victims of IPV are blamed and 'othered' for the violence perpetrated against them; yet in contrast, men who perpetrate violence are protected and defended.

Understanding violence as an intersectional experience – defined by race, class, gender and sexuality in the context of post-apartheid South Africa – is central to the analysis. This study employed an integrated and unique methodology to sample men, their networks and printed media reports, which involved an analysis of violence as a social act. To my knowledge, it is the first study to have asked questions about what social representations of intimate partner violence emerge in men and their social networks' narratives and how these resonate in South African media's discourses. Suggestions for prevention and community-based programmes, interventions for perpetrators and victims of intimate partner violence, and practical recommendations for improved journalistic practice are provided. The community, relationships and individuals are shown to be inseparable spheres, and the contextualised analyses of power and oppression are shown to open possibilities for social change.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town, Cape Town. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in this or any other University.

Signature:.....Date:.....

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my nephew, Christian Petersen, who despite being so little, is a giant in spirit, strength and hope. He continues to prove that the impossible is possible by overcoming each obstacle that comes his way. Thank you for being my inspiration – you are my example of strength, faith and determination.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the following people for their contributions:

- To the men, their friends and families who participated in this study. This project would not have been a reality without you.
- To CASE and Hearts of Men for recognising this project's potential, and for investing the necessary time to bring this research to fruition.
- To Associate Professor Boonzaier who has been my mentor, teacher and supporter throughout my post-graduate career, and who helped me to climb this final 'mountain' with encouragement and reassurance.
- To the AW Mellon Foundation, NRF and Research Associateship for their financial assistance and confidence in my research.
- Libby Eaton, for reviewing a draft of my findings and offering important suggestions.
- To my parents, my sister and my partner – your unconditional love and uplifting words have been my source of inspiration and determination. You have been, and continue to be, my guardian angels and my pillars of strength.
- To my Almighty God, 'thank you' is not enough to convey my humble gratefulness for my blessings and experiences of strength during this challenging journey. When I felt fear and anxiety, I was replenished with faith and hope, and for that, thanks can only go to God.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
DECLARATION.....	iii
DEDICATION.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF AFRIKAANS TERMS.....	xiii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Intimate partner violence (IPV): conceptualisation and an historical overview.....	4
1.2 Explaining men’s violence against women.....	9
1.2.1 Individual, biological and psychological explanations.....	10
1.2.2 Relationship and familial explanations.....	15
1.2.3 Community and structural explanations.....	18
1.2.4 Societal and institutional explanations.....	20
1.2.4.1 <i>Sexist attitudes and rape myths</i>	21
1.2.4.2 <i>Normative use of violence: a ‘culture of violence’ and law enforcement</i>	22
1.2.4.3 <i>Socio-cultural norms of manhood and impoverished communities</i>	24
1.2.4.4 <i>Patriarchy and the media</i>	26
1.3 Motivation.....	29

1.4 Specific aims and research questions.....	33
1.5 Outline of dissertation	35
CHAPTER 2: MEN, MASCULINITIES AND VIOLENCE.....	36
2.1 Studies on men and masculinities: Conceptualisation and development.....	37
2.2 Hegemonic and traditional masculinity: Critiques and reformulations.....	45
2.3 Emerging discourses of masculinities and violence in post-apartheid South Africa	49
2.3.1 Men’s ‘talk’ about partner violence.....	49
2.3.2. Masculinities, marginalisation and intersectionality.....	52
2.3.3 Respectability, morality and reputation.....	56
2.3.4 The victimisation and anxieties of men	60
2.3.5 Men ending violence.....	64
2.4 Chapter summary.....	67
CHAPTER 3: SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS THEORY AND INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE	69
3.1 Social representations theory: Origins and definitions.....	70
3.2 The collective construction of social representations.....	76
3.2.1 The functions of anchoring and objectification.....	78
3.3 Scientific knowledge, the media and common sense.....	81
3.3.1 Social representations theory and the media.....	83
3.4 Towards a critical theory of social representations and social change.....	88

3.4.1 SRT and feminist poststructuralism: Drawing theoretical links.....	91
3.4.1.1 <i>Reinforcing the links between psychological processes and social practices</i>	94
3.4.1.2 <i>The reification and legitimisation of different knowledge systems</i>	97
3.4.1.3 <i>Agency and resistance in the co-construction of self-identity</i>	100
3.5 Chapter summary.....	102
CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH DESIGN, STUDY METHODS AND PROCEDURES	103
4.1 The qualitative research design	103
4.2 Study context	106
4.3 Sample description	109
4.4 Data collection methods and procedures.....	110
4.4.1 Episodic and creative interviewing.....	111
4.4.2 Focus groups.....	114
4.4.3 Newspaper analysis.....	118
4.5 Analysis of data: Thematic decomposition.....	120
4.5.1 Analysis procedure.....	123
4.5.1.1 <i>Phase 1: Transcription</i>	124
4.5.1.2 <i>Phase 2: Developing the Coding frame</i>	125

4.5.1.3 Phase 3: Identifying and reviewing themes.....	126
4.5.1.4 Phase 4: Thematic decomposition analysis.....	127
4.6 Trustworthiness and the question of rigour.....	131
4.6.1 Ethical considerations.....	133
4.6.2 Reflexivity.....	136
4.7 Chapter summary.....	139
 CHAPTER 5: SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF GENDER AND RESPECTABILITY.....	 140
5.1 Social representations of disciplining women.....	141
5.2 Betraying respectability: Women ‘doing’ masculinity.....	151
5.2.1 “Wine speaks truth”: Representations of liquid courage and the improper woman.....	152
5.2.2 Social representations of women providers.....	157
5.2.3 The protection order: representing women as ‘abusing’ men.....	162
5.3 Representations of the <i>moffie</i> as the non-man.....	166
5.3.1 Representing change: A departure from reputation towards respectability.....	178
5.4 Chapter summary.....	183
 CHAPTER 6: SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE: VICTIMS, PERPETRATORS AND RESPONSES.....	 185

6.1 Representations of the ‘perpetrator’	185
6.1.2 Representations of the ‘protector’	186
6.2.2 Perpetrators as ‘victims’	192
6.2 Blaming the non-valid victim	201
6.2.1. The valid/non-valid victim: Media representations	201
6.2.2 Social networks’ representations of victim-blaming	210
6.3 Representations of newsworthiness and normalisation	219
6.4 The public/privacy of violence	225
6.5 Representations of vigilantism and community action	234
6.6. Chapter summary	242
CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS	243
7.1 Summary of the findings	243
7.1.1 Social representations of gender and respectability	244
7.1.2 Social representations of intimate partner violence: Victims, perpetrators and responses	247
7.2 Theoretical contributions and implications	251
7.2.1 Media discourses and lay representations	251
7.2.2. Masculinities and violence	254
7.2.2.1 <i>Discourses of male vulnerability</i>	254
7.2.2.2 <i>Intergenerational abuse</i>	256

7.2.3 Institutional discourses and lay representations of IPV.....	257
7.3 Methodological contributions and implications.....	258
7.3.1 Data collection methods.....	258
7.3.2 Theoretical framework.....	259
7.3.2.1 <i>Social practices and subjectivity</i>	260
7.3.2.2 <i>Agency and structure</i>	261
7.3.2.3 <i>Expert knowledge and the media</i>	262
7.4 Practical contributions.....	264
7.4.1 Prevention programmes.....	264
7.4.2 Ending violence: An individual vs. social concern.....	266
7.4.3 The state and criminal justice system: Reinforcing a discourse of responsibility.....	267
7.4.4 The media: Developing campaigns and training journalists.....	271
7.5 Recommendations for future research.....	274
7.6 Concluding remarks.....	275
REFERENCES.....	278
APPENDIX A.....	348
APPENDIX B.....	350
APPENDIX C.....	355

APPENDIX D.....	358
APPENDIX E.....	361
APPENDIX F.....	364
APPENDIX G.....	365
APPENDIX H.....	367
APPENDIX I.....	368
APPENDIX J.....	369

LIST OF AFRIKAANS TERMS

Boere - police

Gamtaal - The speech considered to be adopted by lower-class coloured individuals

Gatvol - A slang term indicating the extent to which someone has had enough.

Gebrandmerk - branded

‘Hy slat die liefde weer in’ – ‘he hits the love back in’

Kwaai - ‘cool’; trendy

Lippe – lips

Mal - mad; crazy

Meid - A derogatory term for women, roughly translated as ‘bitch’.

Moffie – feminised masculinity

Ordentlik – good; obedient

Pop - doll

Skelling – nagging, shouting

Sommer – rather; instead

Vloerlap - floor rag; dirty rag

Vrou – woman

Yoh - expression used to convey astonishment, closely associated with the English term, ‘wow’.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“I live in a place where like violence is born in a place [...] around every second street you see people gamble on the corners, they fighting. You must like, live in that life man to connect with other people. So you do the things that people do.”

These are the words of a male participant, spoken in an interview about social representations of intimate partner violence for the present study. These words illustrate the dynamic, social and collective features of violence perpetration, serving to deconstruct ideas about violence as solely an individual act. Violence indeed is pervasive and it permeates all corners of the globe; physically, psychologically, and emotionally affecting not only the individuals in the immediate environment, but also the families and communities in which people live (Butchart, Garcia-Moreno & Mikton, 2010). Although violence is a widespread phenomenon which occurs across the globe it has been found to claim 1.6 million lives globally with 90 percent of these cases being found in low-to-middle-income countries (Matzopoulos, Myers, Bowman & Mathews, 2008). Indeed, violence ought to be recognised as a “product of its social context” (Jewkes, 2002, p. 1423).

South Africa’s history of colonisation and apartheid has produced a context in which violence has played an integral role in social relations and conflict (Vetten & Ratele, 2013). Although the political transition may have curbed the political violence fuelling the country at the time, Vetten and Ratele (2013) argued that interpersonal violence, and specifically gender-based violence, has not been similarly curtailed. In 1999, the female homicide rate in South Africa was six times the global average, with half of these murders perpetrated by

women's intimate male partners (Seedat, van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla & Ratele, 2009). Although the prevalence of intimate femicide decreased from 8.8/100 000 in 1999 to 5.6/100 000 in 2009, the prevalence did not decline as considerably as non-intimate homicides, resulting in intimate femicide being the leading cause of female homicide (Abrahams, Mathews, Martin, Lombard & Jewkes, 2013). Kaminer, Grimsrud, Myer, Stein and Williams (2008) also reported that based upon data from the South African Stress and Health (SASH) survey, domestic violence was the most common form of violence experienced by women. Furthermore in 2010, just less than one in five (18.13%) women in the South African province of Gauteng reported an incident of violence by an intimate partner over their lifetime (Machisa, Jewkes, Morna & Rama, 2011).

The widespread prevalence of sexual violence in South Africa was recorded by community-based surveys in two provinces, in which 27.6 percent of adult men interviewed admitted to having raped a woman or girl at least once in their lifetime, while 4.6 percent of the men had raped within the past year (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2009). Indeed, the country is in the paradoxical position of having one of the most progressive constitutions in the world, yet also having one of the highest rates of gender-based violence. Even so the statistics may not provide an accurate description of the full extent of this phenomenon (Matzopoulos, Norman & Bradshaw, 2004), because as Bendall (2010) argued, some victims are silenced and do not report abuse.

Recent events have entered the South African media and news arena to illustrate the extent to which violence against women is rampant in South Africa (Shefer, 2013). The heinous crime perpetrated against Anene Booysen, who died of terrible injuries following a brutal gang rape on 2 February 2013 is one such example, closely followed by the high profile femicide in which Reeva Steenkamp was shot dead by her boyfriend, paralympian

Oscar Pistorius. Mathews, Jewkes and Abrahams (2014) argue, however, that these are not exceptional cases but reflect two of approximately 500 incidents of intimate femicide that occurred in 2013 (Abrahams et al., 2013). Although the backgrounds, precursors and contexts to these intimate femicide cases differ, they point to the same concerns and questions around why “violence is so gendered” (Vetten & Ratele, 2013, p. 4). Empirical data has indicated that young South African men, in particular, are at greater risk for being both perpetrators and victims of violence (Matzopoulos et al., 2008). As Messerschmidt (2005) noted, “Men and boys dominate crime” (p. 197), and it is of particular priority to understand why violence has become a problem of men (Vetten & Ratele, 2013).

Although studies worldwide have expanded to include both victim and perpetrator accounts of violence (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2004; Boonzaier, 2008; Cavanagh, Dobash, Dobash & Lewis, 2001; Santana, Raj, Decker, La Marche & Silverman, 2006); a less significant emphasis has been placed upon understanding partner violence against women from the man perpetrators’ perspective in the South African context. This dissertation investigates the social representations of intimate partner violence amongst men, their social networks and within the media. This chapter will begin with a brief conceptualisation and history into intimate partner violence, followed by a review of local and international literature on the explanations for men’s perpetration of violence against women partners. The motivation for undertaking the present study is outlined, and I argue that intimate partner violence should be understood as a social act, one that is influenced by the representations of various social actors, community and cultural norms, and the media. The chapter concludes with the aims, central research question, and the study’s significance and contribution.

1.1 Intimate partner violence (IPV): Conceptualisation and an historical overview

Domestic violence laws can be traced back to the 19th century legal doctrines in the United Kingdom and United States, namely coverture¹, which granted permission for husbands to dominate and inflict violence against their wives, with the intention to discipline or correct their wife's behaviour (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Marcus, 1994). These laws drew widespread public concern and protest in both the UK and USA from the late 19th century, and the legal response involved punishing 'unruly' husbands with a whipping post, and allowed women to divorce on the grounds of battering (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Pleck, 2004). This punishment employed a Victorian discourse of the drunk, violent, black or immigrant husband and the innocent, nonviolent wife, and implied that the punishment of domestic violence was related not only to gender, but to race and class as well (Pleck, 2004).

By the end of the 19th century, Marcus (1994) argued that coverture and other common-law jurisdictions were fully abolished in New York, and women were granted a separate legal identity allowing them the autonomy to participate in the commercial economy. These 19th century legal transformations were matched by a shift in perceptions of wife abuse in the 20th century (Bograd, 1990; Schneider, 1994; Thornberry, 2010), during which violence was deconstructed as a private family event, and represented as a public problem of the state, and in public health and social institutions (Boonzaier, 2008). Pleck (2004) argued that before this publicising of violence occurred, conflict in the family was largely considered peripheral, and domestic violence remained largely invisible. Feminist activists and legal practitioners were influential in shaping these changes to perceptions of domestic violence by developing legal classifications that better reflected women's

¹ Under the common-law jurisdiction of coverture, the legal identity of a married woman and man was merged (Marcus, 1994).

experiences, and also empowered women (Hirsch, 1994; Walker, 2001). In addition, during the 20th century, Marcus (1994) argued that men who abused their women partners were recognised as offenders, and their violence was understood as a tool to grant them power and control over women. It was contended by Western feminists that constructions of domestic violence as a private matter shielded it from state intervention, thereby highlighting the importance of their efforts to reinstate domestic violence as a public problem (Thornberry, 2010).

Although the international feminist movement and campaigns against domestic violence have contributed much towards efforts to end violence in Africa, this work has also been defined by local efforts (Burrill, Roberts & Thornberry, 2010). The early 1990s brought with it new legislation which criminalised violence against women in many major industrialised countries (Burrill et al., 2010). Domestic violence legislation in South Africa dates back to 1993 with the Prevention of Family Violence Act (133 of 1993). Gender activists, however, criticised this law as an insufficient and problematic response to domestic violence by the apartheid state (Usdin, Christofides, Malepe & Maker, 2000). One shortcoming of the law included its inaccessibility to South African women. For example, only individuals who were married by customary or civil law, or those in common law marriages could access the interdict, thereby excluding dating couples from this legal remedy (Parenzee, Artz & Moulton, 2001). The Family Violence Act also failed to describe what constituted domestic violence, and was thus left to the magistrates and judges who lacked knowledge about the phenomenon (Parenzee et al., 2001). Usdin and colleagues (2000) argued that the law was perceived as a “last ditch ‘face-saving’ reform agenda” (p. 56) by the apartheid state and was passed without much consideration, leading to advocacy for new

legislation. In an effort to pass the revised legislation before the next national elections, the new Domestic Violence Act was gazetted into law in November 1998 (Usdin et al., 2000).

In South Africa, victims of violence are noted as being amongst the most vulnerable members of society and the purpose of the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 (DVA) is to provide them maximum protection by the law as well as the right to equality, freedom and security. In addition, the National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996), the Services Charter for Victims (2004) and the White Paper on Safety and Security (1998) all act as State interventions to work against the high levels of violence against women in the country. The Service Charter for Victims (2004), in particular, features seven rights to support victims in their dealings with the criminal justice system: 1) the right to be treated with fairness and with respect for dignity and privacy, 2) the right to offer information, 3) the right to receive information, 4) the right to protection, 5) the right to assistance, 6) the right to compensation, and 7) the right to restitution (pp. 2-4). Despite this robust legislation, Mathews, Loots, Sikweyiya and Jewkes (2012) argued that perpetrators still walk away largely unaccountable for their actions.

Efforts to bring domestic violence into the public domain have been central to advocating for the rights of victims of abuse. However, some scholars have argued that the privatisation of partner violence persists today (Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Felson, 2002). Marcus (1994) argued that the contemporary rhetoric of marital equality disguises the extent to which the ideology of coverture still drives the beliefs and practices in marriages today. The institution of marriage has been noted in literature as a justification for men's domination over women (Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Felson, 2002) to the extent that masculine domination has been described as having a naturalising effect (Bourdieu, 2001). Subsequently, scholars such as Marcus (1994) have argued that globally the privacy of the

home is a perilous space for women. The term ‘domestic violence’ was argued to be problematic since it might reinforce the private, family notions of violence that have been shown to silence women (Marcus, 1994), and may conjure fear in their abusive marriages (Bendall, 2010; Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011; Burrill et al., 2010; Felson, 2002; Gopal & Chetty, 2006; Hydén, 1999).

Marcus’ (1994) critique of the term ‘domestic violence’ is one of many that have drawn attention to the definitions and the meanings behind terminology for gender-based violence. Abrahams, Martin and Vetten (2004) have argued that inadequate definitions of gender-based violence have had a negative impact on research in this area, in that it limits comparisons between studies. Scholars have therefore suggested that careful consideration in researching the concepts of violence, abuse, and gender should be adopted (McHugh, Livingston & Ford, 2005). Although terms such as domestic violence, intimate partner violence, violence against women and gender-based violence have been adopted, often interchangeably, in literature their implications vary (Burrill et al., 2010). These terms generally refer to men’s violence against women and have the effect of drawing attention to the gendered aspects of violence, the understanding that violence is the outcome of men’s power and control over women, and they work to problematise the perceived private ‘nature’ of such violence (Abrahams et al., 2004; Burrill et al., 2010). The present study, however, relates specifically to ‘intimate partner violence (IPV) against women’, ‘partner violence’, or at times, ‘violence against women’. Research in the South African context has shown that the majority of perpetrators of violence in the context of intimate relationships are men, as current or past husbands and boyfriends (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2005; Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher & Hoffman, 2006; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Mathews et al., 2004). Therefore, IPV might be a more appropriate concept for the current study as it refers to the

violence perpetrated in the context of intimate relations (Abrahams et al., 2004; Campbell, 2002; Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise & Watts, 2005).

The current study adopts the World Health Organisation's definition for IPV in which Heise and Garcia-Moreno (2002) state that IPV includes either acts of physical aggression, sexual coercion or psychological/emotional abuse in the intimate relationship (p. 89). These behaviours might include:

- Acts of physical aggression – such as slapping, hitting, kicking and beating.
- Psychological abuse – such as intimidation, constant belittling and humiliating.
- Forced intercourse and other forms of sexual coercion.
- Various controlling behaviours – such as isolating a person from their family and friends, monitoring their movements, and restricting their access to information or assistance. (Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002, p. 89)

Harvey, Garcia-Moreno and Butchart (2007, p. 3) added that:

It can happen within marriage, long-term partnerships or short-term intimate relationships, and can be perpetrated by ex-partners when these relationships have ended. It has been documented as largely perpetrated by men against women, although such violence also occurs in same-sex couples and can be perpetrated by women against men.

Other definitions for gender-based violence have been put forward by the Centers for Disease Control (Saltzman, Fanslow, McMahon & Shelley, 1999), and The Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 (1998). The latter speaks broadly to definitions of domestic violence or family violence in South Africa, which is not necessarily gender-specific. Although the definition (Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998, 1998) includes violence between intimate partners, its definition encompasses violence between family members, and the violence experienced amongst people who share households (Abrahams et al., 2004; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005). As Burrill and colleagues (2010) have confirmed, some theorists use the term domestic violence to not only refer to the acts of violence perpetrated by men against women but also to those forms of violence that are warranted and monitored by the “institutions and ideologies of kinship and family” (p. 2). For that reason, this study has chosen to specifically adhere to the definition of intimate partner violence offered by Heise and Garcia-Moreno (2002) and Harvey and colleagues (2007).

In sum, a body of work speaks to the way in which the problem of intimate partner violence has transformed over time and is described as a problem for the State, for communities, for families, and a problem for human rights activists. Social representations² of violence against women continue changing within social, cultural, structural and institutional spheres re-shaping and representing the meaning of this social harm. The next section aims to provide a review of literature that has theorised about men’s perpetration of violence against women, locally and internationally.

² Social representations studies are generally concerned with the investigation of common sense thinking, and how people describe and understand the phenomena they face in the social world (Joffe, 1998). It also theorises about the social construction of knowledge, and the ways in which knowledge is transformed and shared amongst groups of individuals (Flick, 1995; Flick & Foster, 2008; Hogg & Vaughan, 2011; Philogène & Deaux, 2001).

1.2 Explaining men's violence against women

Violence is the product of multiple factors and cannot be explained through a single determinant (Vetten & Ratele, 2013). Consequently, scholars have located a complex array of factors to explain men's violence against women, situated at the individual, relationship, community and societal levels (Rosenberg et al., 2006; Butchart et al., 2010). Based upon the range of literature on IPV, the current research draws upon four broad thematic areas to explain the factors associated with the perpetration of intimate partner violence, which include: 1) individual, biological and psychological explanations, 2) relationship and familial explanations, 3) community and structural explanations, and 4) societal and institutional factors. In addition, the four thematic areas will illustrate the beliefs and practices that condone or guard against men's perpetration of violence against women partners within men's social circles and in regard to broader societal and cultural influences. However, this chapter will also make a case for a more integrated framework, which acknowledges these thematic areas to be inseparable spheres of influence.

1.2.1 Individual, biological and psychological explanations. This theme identifies the various individual biological, psychological and personal history explanations for men's violence against women. Some research draws attention to the socio-demographic factors that may be associated with the perpetration of violence, which have generated mixed reviews. Men who were young when they first started living with their woman partner (Martin, Tsui, Maitra, & Marinshaw, 1999) and men with lower education levels (Ackerson, Kawachi, Barbeau & Subramanian, 2008; Boyle, Georgiades, Cullen & Racine, 2009; Klevens, Bayón & Sierra, 2000; Martin et al., 1999; Tang & Lai, 2008) are considered more likely to

perpetrate violence against a woman partner. For example, Martin and colleagues' (1999) study – which examined the prevalence and characteristics of partner violence in five districts in Northern India – found that abusive men had lower levels of education (34 – 66 percent) and started living with their wives at younger ages (22 – 53 percent) in comparison to non-abusive men. In addition, Ackerson and colleagues' (2008) population-based study – which investigated the effects of individual and proximate educational context on IPV in India – found that women were more likely to report lifetime IPV if their husbands had no formal education. However, Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekana (2002) found that in their cross-sectional study of violence against women undertaken in three South African provinces, no significant associations were observed with age and education for partner violence.

Alcoholism and drug abuse (e.g., methamphetamine, cannabis, Mandrax, benzodiazepines) is also argued to be a significant contributing factor for the perpetration of abuse (Abrahams et al., 2006; Armstrong, 2000; Field, Caetano & Nelson, 2004; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes et al., 2002; Jewkes et al., 2009; Klevens et al., 2007; Lisak & Beszterczey, 2007; Parry & Dewing, 2006; Parry, Plüddemann, Louw, & Leggett, 2004; Peltzer & Ramlagan, 2009; Rich & Grey, 2005; Sawyer-Kurian, Wechsberg & Luseno, 2009; Stith, Smith, Penn, Ward & Tritt, 2004; Strebel et al., 2006; Tang & Lai, 2008). In light of an increase in drug use and stimulants in South Africa (Morris & Parry, 2006), the high rates of methamphetamine use in South Africa, and in parts of the US, has become a serious public health concern (Gibson, Leamon & Flynn, 2002; Wechsberg et al., 2010). South African scholars have largely connected the high rates of methamphetamine (also called 'tik') use in Coloured³ communities in the Western Cape, to the high HIV infection rates (Morris & Parry,

³ 'Coloured' is a racial term created during Apartheid that referred to people of mixed race origin and grouped particular South African citizens according to their skin 'colour' (Hendricks, 2001; Lewis, 2001). The Coloured group was often perceived of as 'between' the black and white racial divides (Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001; Lewis, 2001). Coloured people are argued to hold their origins in a range of ethnic groups, from Cape slaves and

2006), and well as to the men's violent sexual behaviour (Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009).

Studies have also found that drug use is more prevalent amongst men than women, according to a South African study by Parry and others (2004) conducted in the Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg regions. Methamphetamine use is associated with increased sex risk behaviour and increased libido (Gibson et al., 2002; Wechsberg et al., 2010; Yen, 2004), and Sawyer-Kurian and others (2009) reported that men in their sample would give women these drugs in order to gang rape them. Occasionally men would offer women more methamphetamine after having raped them in order to pacify them, and would also show little concern for condom use (Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009).

There is, however, a debate about the relationship between alcohol, drugs use and violence, and whether it is in fact causal. Qualitative research has shown that men who have perpetrated violence under the influence of alcohol have used this as a way of justifying their violence as an uncontrollable, impulsive act (Armstrong, 2000; Boonzaier, 2008; Hydén, 1994; O'Neill, 1998, p. 464; Stamp & Sabourin, 1995). Other research shows the ways in which alcohol and other drugs may have a disinhibiting effect for the perpetration of violence against women. Violence may have been considered wrong when sober, but when men are abusing alcohol, they may be more likely to perpetrate violence (Abrahams et al., 2006; Armstrong, 2000; Field et al., 2004; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes et al., 2002; Kleven et al., 2007; Lisak & Beszterczey, 2007; Matzopoulos et al., 2008; Parrot, Gallagher & Zeichner, 2012;

Khoisan to European settlers (Adhikari, 2005). Subgroups of this "mixed race" group include Malays, Griquas, Namas and Basters (Adhikari, 2005, p. 2). Since the abolition of Apartheid, this term is still in use; however it is predominantly conceived of as a social construction that serves particular political purposes (Grunebaum & Robins, 2001; Hendricks, 2001). Some find the term controversial and offensive and use it in inverted commas or prefixed by 'so-called', while others use it with pride (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999; Grunebaum & Robins, 2001). Similarly to Erasmus and Pieterse (1999), the current study refers to 'coloured' as a South African group, with histories and experiences of oppression during apartheid and in current day South Africa. It is not inferred that racial categories have any anthropological or scientific root. At times, this study also speaks more broadly to the experiences of 'black' groups, thereby referring to all people oppressed under white domination.

Rich & Grey, 2005; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009; Stith et al., 2004; Stoner, George, Peters & Norris, 2007; Strebel et al., 2006; Tang & Lai, 2008). Despite these mixed reviews regarding the causal role played by alcohol and drugs, the evidence does suggest that men who have been drinking and taking drugs inflict more serious violence at the time of assault (Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009).

The prevalence of substance use in South Africa should also be interpreted in its historical context. In regard to the *dop-stelsel* (the ‘tot-system’), farmers used to compensate their black employees with alcohol as opposed to money – a form of exploitation that still persists in some rural areas in current day South Africa (Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011; Haupt, 2001; Western, 1996). Boonzaier and van Schalkwyk (2011) and Haupt (2001) argued that this system played a vital role in consigning communities to a cycle of social, economic and alcohol problems. It may be argued that in some contexts, such as South Africa, substance use is shaped by the historical and social context in which it occurs, and thus, an exclusive investigation into individual factors of substance use might be futile.

Emphasis has also been placed upon the individual-psychological characteristics (Bograd, 1990; Boonzaier, 2006; Bowen, Gilchrist, & Beech, 2005; Browns & Hendricks, 1998; Howe, 2005; Sonkin & Dutton, 2003), and biological predispositions (Greene, 1999; Hearn, 1998a) as possible determinants for men’s perpetration of partner violence. Earlier explanations from the biological perspective claim that violence is natural for men, and that men are inherently aggressive (Greene, 1999; Hearn, 1998a). One example of an argument from a biological perspective involved showing that greater testosterone levels in men have led to increased aggression (Greene, 1999; Hearn, 1998a). From a psychological standpoint, it has been contended that individual psychopathology is also a contributing factor for the perpetration of partner violence (Bowen et al., 2005; Bograd, 1990; Boonzaier, 2006; Dutton,

Starzomski & Ryan, 1996; Howe, 2005; Sonkin & Dutton, 2003). The attachment perspective, in particular, places a focus upon the early parent-child relationship, and argues that a secure attachment is associated with healthy psychosocial development, whilst a child that establishes a disorganised or disoriented attachment might lead to psychopathology later in life (Howe, 2005).

Much emphasis has also been placed upon the significant trajectory of research that argues that witnessing or experiencing abuse in childhood might influence future perpetration of violence against an intimate woman partner (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2005; Abrahams et al., 2006; Ellsberg et al., 1999; Klevens et al., 2000; Jewkes et al., 2006; Lisak & Beszterczey, 2007; Murrell, Christoff & Henning, 2007; Stith et al., 2004). The study of the intergenerational transmission of intimate partner violence draws upon social learning theory (SLT), which argues that human thought, affect, and behaviour are considerably controlled by observation and direct experience (Bograd, 1990; Corvo, 2006). The learning process occurs in the form of *modelling*; individuals learn from the behaviours that they witness or experience (Bandura, 1977). Similarly, a South African study by Abrahams and Jewkes (2005) found that violent men who witnessed parental violence was a strong predictor for both the perpetration of intimate partner violence and more general violent crime (30% of men were arrested for possession of an illegal firearm). More recent research in South Africa also suggests that one in ten men reported having been abused sexually by other men in childhood (Mathews et al., 2012). The sexual abuse of children could result in post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms, depression, suicidal notions, and inappropriate sexual behaviour (Mathews, Abrahams & Jewkes, 2013; Mathews et al., 2012). Klevens and colleagues (2000) also observed that men who were physically disciplined during childhood were more likely to physically abuse their own children, who were perceived to be disobedient and disrespectful.

While psychological explanations may be able to account for some of the reasons behind men's perpetration of violence, Mathews and colleagues (2012) argued that individual-psychological perspectives lack a focus upon why women, in particular, are targets of men's violence. Indeed, the individual-level influences associated with men's perpetration of violence cannot be understood in isolation of other contextual and social influences, and thus, the next thematic area goes further to recognise the perpetration of violence as a social event, influenced by social relationships.

1.2.2 Relationship and familial explanations. This thematic area explores the ways in which the perpetrator's immediate social circle (e.g., peers, intimate partners, and family members) might increase the individual's risk of perpetrating violence. Some sources argue that in the context of the violent intimate relationship, conflict might originate due to income disparities between the man and his woman partner, but also as a result of relationship conflict in general (Boonzaier, 2005a; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Jewkes et al., 2002; Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, Levin, Ratsaka, & Schrieber, 2001; Klevens et al., 2000; Martin et al., 1999); jealousy in intimate relationships (Jewkes, 2002; Stamp & Sabourin, 1995; Tang & Lai, 2008); and as the result of low marital satisfaction (Stith et al., 2004; Tang & Lai, 2008). On the contrary, some research has shown that despite either the woman or man partner having to financially support the home, violence against the women still occurred (Hoffman, Demo & Edwards, 1994; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes et al., 2002). It is argued that violence is often perpetrated against the partner as a way for men to discipline the woman and to control the conflict⁴ (Butchart et al., 2010; O'Neill, 1998). In addition, Jewkes (2002) explained that

⁴ A more detailed discussion will emerge regarding men's power and control over women under the societal-level influences.

the perpetration of violence might be related to the degree to which the woman partner participated in premarital and extramarital relationships. For example, in contexts where premarital sex might be a norm, marital status is not positively correlated with violence (Jewkes et al., 2002).

With regard to family-relationship explanations, mixed results have emerged concerning the influence of large households on the perpetration of partner violence. For example, Martin and colleagues (1999) observed that abuse was more common amongst families under stress – possibly due to poverty – as well as households with multiple children. On the contrary, a study by Ellsberg and colleagues (1999) found that amongst a sample of 488 Nicaraguan women, some women reported violence occurring in the early stages of cohabiting relationships when the household size might have been smaller. Ellsberg and colleagues (1999) findings may suggest that in the context of Nicaragua violence may not occur in response to large family environments.

Family conflict and violence has also prompted the development of self-report measures (Straus, 1979). For example, the Conflict Tactic Scales (CTS) is a widely used self-report survey that measures reasoning, verbal aggression, and violence within the family and intimate relationships, which was later revised by Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy and Sugarman (1996) on account of criticisms that the scale did not include sexual coercion or the consequences and injuries resulting from the violence (McHugh et al., 2005). Hamby (2005) argued that scholars have relied on the CTS to identify victims and perpetrators of partner violence, and the scale was shown to be useful in identifying risk factors for the perpetration of IPV. However, a downfall of self-report measures such as the CTS, is that minor incidents of violence are more likely to be identified, as well as those that might be construed as “ambiguously aggressive” (Hamby, 2005, p. 732), which largely points to the problem of

definition and how participants conceptualise violence (McHugh et al., 2005). Scholars have also critiqued the CTS for its decontextualising questions (e.g., “How many times did he slap you?”; “How many times did you push him?”) (McHugh et al., 2005), whilst others have problematised the scale for failing to address the motives for violence, the time sequences within which the acts of violence occur, and the CTS’s assumptions about gender symmetry, which fail to acknowledge the impact of gender inequality (Dobash et al., 1992; Hamby, 2005; Kimmel, 2002). By measuring family or partner violence without taking gender relations into account, a crucial motivation behind the perpetration of violence might be neglected.

A range of studies have also shown that ideals of manhood and violence are collectively constructed and sometimes encouraged, rather than being an isolated personal goal (Hearn, 1998b; Lau & Stevens, 2012; Matzopoulos et al., 2008; Ragnarsson, Townsend, Thorson, Chopra & Ekström, 2009). In a South African study conducted by Lau and Stevens (2012), it was found that socio-cultural expectations of manhood were monitored at the level of peer relationships. As part of the collective construction of masculinity, public forms of violence were also noted to aid men in affirming their masculinity for an audience, and to subjugate the woman partner to affirm the man’s identity as a ‘real man’ (Lau & Stevens, 2012). Furthermore, Matzopoulos and others (2008) found that South African youths who have violent peers are more likely to engage in violent and sexually abusive behaviours than their counterparts who do not have violent friends. Men’s kin could too be implicated in men’s violence against women. In Hearn’s (1998b) investigation into men’s social support networks and the way in which these relationships might impact on men’s own violence, it was noted that close relationships with social network members who condone violence, “is itself likely to assist him in maintaining his violence” (p. 152). The opposite rings true for a

social network who disapproves of violence against women – the closeness of the relationship might assist the man in ending his violence (Hearn, 1998b). Hearn (1998b) argued that it can be frequently found that men's family members are either unaware of the man's disposition towards violence, they choose to remain oblivious to it or they defend the man through social, emotional and potentially physical tactics.

While the relationship and familial risk themes extend the understanding of IPV beyond the individual, it is also necessary to contextualise partner violence within broader levels of influence. The next theme illustrates how community and structural influences might act to increase and normalise the perpetration of intimate partner violence experienced in communities.

1.2.3 Community and structural explanations. This thematic area reviews the explanations for the perpetration of violence at the community and structural levels. Community characteristics might include greater neighbourhood poverty (Ellsberg et al., 1999; Hoffman et al., 1994; Jewkes, 2002; Martin et al., 1999); urban/rural residence or structure of household (Boyle et al., 2009; Jewkes et al., 2002; Ellsberg et al., 1999; Martin et al., 1999; Tang & Lai, 2008); high levels of crime and violence (Matzopoulos et al., 2008); and common perceptions by community members of violence as permissive and acceptable (Bourgois, 1996; Rich & Grey, 2005). While intimate partner violence is a wide-spread phenomenon globally, research suggests that this violence might be more pervasive among lower socioeconomic status (SES) groups (Armstrong, 2000; Jewkes, 2002; Tang & Lai, 2008), and middle-to-lower-income countries (Butchart et al., 2010). It is not yet clear why poverty increases the risk of violence (Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002); however, a prominent argument is that poverty is predominantly associated with stress, frustrations and fewer life

chances due to the limited resources available to people of lower SES (Jewkes, 2002). It has furthermore been argued that men's stress and tension, induced by poverty, may find expression through violence (O'Neill, 1998). Matzopoulos and colleagues (2008) also noted that the Western Cape's history of street crime, gangs, drugs and firearms contribute significantly to high levels of violence for residents of some communities, with the likely outcome of negative mental health implications for children.

Research has also investigated the structural factors that might influence rates of injury, violence and homicide. These structural factors might include social and demographic changes (e.g., migration, urbanisation and modernisation), which increase the likelihood of men's violence against women (Burrill et al., 2010; Coovadia, Jewkes, Barron, Sanders & McIntyre, 2009; Moodie & Ndatshe, 1994; Ratele, 2013b). Urban areas with increased population density, disintegrated environments, overburdened infrastructures and overextended service delivery have also been associated with higher rates of injury and homicide (Santosa, Barcellosa, Sa' Carvalhob, 2006). Research has also shown that income inequalities are strong predictors of violence across 63 countries, amongst which South Africa was found to have the highest income inequality (Wood, 2006). In South Africa, the apartheid state played an integral part in cultivating racial divides and producing sustained inequalities on a broad spectrum (Vetten & Ratele, 2013). The Group Areas Act of 1950 was one example where racial boundaries were forged and maintained by designating different places of residence for different 'races' (Lewis, 2001). In current day South Africa, the highest rates of homicide in Cape Town are recorded in forced removal areas and townships, such as Khayelitsha (20.1%), Klipfontein (17.4%) and Mitchell's Plain (17.7%) compared to the Southern Suburbs (7.2%) (Groeneweld et al., 2008). As argued by Foster, Haupt and De Beer (2005), "Gross inequalities produce particular shapes of violence and also produce

differing forms of violence on the various sides” (p. 8), thus making it crucial to not only obtain an understanding of violence that is sensitive to the community in which it occurs but also to the historical and socio-cultural context within which it occurs.

Socio-cultural norms of gender may also be crucial in understanding the perpetration of intimate partner violence against women, and cannot be set apart from other ‘levels’ of influence. This will be explored further in the fourth and final thematic area, which reviews the ways in which violence operates within broader social and institutional structures.

1.2.4 Societal and institutional explanations. Within the societal sphere, determinants are located within the broader macro-level system (i.e., gender inequality and patriarchal practices, religious or cultural beliefs, societal norms, and so forth) and the law enforcement sphere as potential influences for IPV against women. One example of a societal theory may be feminist explanations for the perpetration of violence against women. As noted earlier in this chapter, feminist perspectives generally take the view that patriarchal structures serve to subordinate women through men’s coercive control and domination, which is argued to result in violence against women (Bograd, 1990; Boonzaier, 2006; Brown & Hendricks, 1998; Campbell, 1992; Dutton, 1995; Shefer, 2004). South Africa is argued to be a strong patriarchal society in which violence has become normalised and continues to be a way in which men exercise their power to resolve conflicts, particularly with women partners and some men (Abrahams et al., 2006; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes et al., 2002; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). Women’s resistance to male subordination might be countered with men’s violence, allowing men to ensure various forms of control over women (Dunkle et al., 2004; Hoosen & Collins, 2004). The following sections will review research related to patriarchy, power and partner violence through a focus upon sexist attitudes and

rape myths, the normative use of violence, norms of manhood and displays of patriarchy in the media.

1.2.4.1 Sexist attitudes and rape myths. A trajectory of research on rape myth endorsement (Burt, 1980) and sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) provides one interpretation of sexual violence at the societal level. Rape myths might be defined as stereotypical and sexist beliefs that are detrimental towards women, and may also be the outcome of beliefs about a just world (Bohner & Schwarz, 1996). For example, rape myths may be influenced by justice-driven beliefs that ‘good things happen to good people’ and ‘bad things happen to bad people’ (Abrams, Viki, Masser & Bohner, 2003). Furthermore, although sexism has been typically defined as hostility towards women (Spence & Helmreich, 1972), researchers have also found that in some societies women may hold more positive attributes in comparison to men (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Glick and Fiske (1996) and Glick and colleagues (2000) therefore argued that hostile attitudes towards women might coexist with positive benevolent attitudes, which might find expression through ambivalent sexism.

Glick and Fiske (1996) developed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) which is a 22-item measure of individual differences in ambivalent sexism, and studies such as Masser and Abram’s (1999), have produced results that confirmed Glick and Fiske’s (1996) two complementary ideologies of sexism, namely hostile and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism includes the misogyny used to describe sexist prejudice, and benevolent sexism is described as “a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles, but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone” (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 491). Ambivalent sexists furthermore reconcile their hostile and benevolent feelings by classifying women into good (e.g., purity) and bad (e.g., promiscuity) categories

and benevolence is linked to women who conform to traditional gender roles, whilst hostility is retained for nonconforming feminists and career women, for example (Abrams, Marques, Bown & Henson, 2000; Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner & Zhu, 1997; Sibley & Wilson, 2004).

Abrams and colleagues (2000) found that in their study of perceptions of stranger and acquaintance rape, individuals who were high in benevolent sexism ascribed more blame to an acquaintance rape victim than did individuals who measured lower on benevolent sexism. Abrams and colleagues' (2000) argued that their findings had significant meaning for understanding victim-blaming through the concept of benevolent sexism. In addition, it has been found that higher hostile sexism is positively correlated with a predisposition and inclination towards rape (Malamuth, 1981; Malamuth & Check, 1985) and acquaintance rape (Abrams et al., 2000), and may even be a predictor for engaging in sexual violence (Bohner et al., 1998). Theorisations about hostile and benevolent sexism also have the capacity to explain how women might acquire hostile attitudes towards rape victims. The measure, however, has a tendency to reduce explanations of sexual violence against women to socio-cultural beliefs and attitudes, whilst precluding relationship, familial, community and structural contributing factors to the perpetration of men's violence against women.

1.2.4.2 Normative use of violence: a 'culture of violence' and law enforcement. The normative use and acceptance of violence as a method of dealing with conflicts may be influenced by cultural, historical and social norms in particular contexts (Butchart et al., 2010), a view also shared by O'Neill (1998). The commonly employed discourse of a 'culture of violence', argued to pervade South Africa's past and present, gives meaning to the way in which violence has become a plausible route to resolving conflict. This 'culture' was borne

through the nation's history of militarisation, slavery, colonialism, and apartheid, which represents phases of much violence and violation (Gqola, 2007; Vetten, 2000). The Apartheid laws that cultivated racial divides and sustained inequalities on a broad spectrum also represented the milieu in which violence became an acceptable tactic for conflict resolution. Self-defence became a measure of rebelling against the racial policies, prevalent in segregationist South Africa - one example being the armed struggle during which anti-apartheid activists used violence in their crusades against oppression (Vetten, 2000). During this time, violence began as a practice to be taken up by men and some women; however, this culture of violence – unceasingly permeating through generations – has resulted in South Africa retaining one of the highest rates of interpersonal violence in the world.

The wide acceptance of violence has significant meaning for law enforcement in South Africa. Policing, crime and violence prevention are key practices that may guard against partner violence perpetration (Matzopoulos et al., 2008). In South Africa the effective apprehension of suspects and state legislation that offers victims protection is crucial in reducing violence; however with the social acceptance of violence in some contexts, law enforcement has been argued to be weak (Jewkes et al., 2009). Corruption and an ineffective police force, may furthermore contribute towards the problem (Gopal & Chetty, 2006; Mathews & Abrahams, 2001). Few perpetrators are effectively punished for their violence (Mathews et al., 2012), which may result in minimal prevention and potential absence of faith in the justice system, particularly by victims (Jewkes et al., 2009).

Researchers have also acknowledged South Africa's history of conflict and inequality as resulting in dislocated families, migrancy, and destroyed communities, as well as having a hand in shaping masculinities (Burrill et al., 2010; Coovadia et al, 2009; Moodie & Ndatshe, 1994; Ratele, 2013b). South African masculinities have been argued to carry attributes of

“physical strength, courage, toughness and an acceptance of the hierarchical authority, but most of all, they demand that men are able to exercise control (over women and other men)” (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010, p. 5). Morrell (2001) contended that in the context of South Africa’s history and political reign, it has largely been “a man’s country” (p. 18), in which the law reinforced and promoted (black and white) men’s power and concurrently oppressed women. Due to the impact of apartheid, black township boys were raised in dislocated communities with little possibility for well-paid work (Morrell, 2001). Their impoverished lifestyle and political marginalisation were argued to contribute to their emasculation and produced violent and treacherous masculinities (Xaba, 2001). This disenfranchisement made that honour and respect were difficult to earn from white employers, fellow workers or women, and some men frequently turned to violence to enforce respect (Morrell, 2001).

The performance of violence by men is often condoned because violence is not perceived as an act of weakness or absence of self-restraint (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). Some studies have found that men perpetrators would justify their violence in the name of dominant forms of masculinity present in their ‘culture’ (Lau & Stevens, 2012; Marcus, 1994). For example, Lau and Stevens (2012) argued that the South African men participants in their study justified their violence with cultural discourses rather than by problematising culture for its role in the reification of violence against women. Expressions of masculinity and violence have also been investigated within the context of community norms. The next section provides an overview of literature that considers these links and overlaps between societal and community explanations.

1.2.4.3 Socio-cultural norms of manhood and impoverished communities. A strong line of research has theorised about masculinity and beliefs concerning a successful manhood

as potential contributing factors for the perpetration of violence. Some qualitative research on masculinity and violence have found a significant link between men's social status and socio-economic-status, and the perpetration of violence (Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Bourgois, 1996; Ratele et al., 2007; Rich & Grey, 2005; Strebel et al., 2006). Bourgois (1996) and Ragnarsson and colleagues (2009) argued that in the context of impoverished neighbourhoods and high unemployment rates, some models of masculinity may be unattainable for some men; therefore, limiting the ways in which men may demonstrate success. Masculinities may instead be re-crafted and performed through control over women, substance use and criminal behaviour (Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Bourgois, 1996; Salo, 2007). The multiple ways in which successful masculinity may be performed through violence against women have correspondingly been highlighted as a significant contributing factor for the perpetration of violence (Jewkes, 2002, Jewkes et al., 2002, Dunkle et al., 2004, Hoosen & Collins, 2004, Abrahams et al., 2006, Strebel et al., 2006, Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009, Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). Therefore, the influence of community norms may operate hand in hand with men's underlying desires to achieve a 'successful' manhood.

Other research has called attention to marginalised men and how the perpetration of physical violence lands them respect in their neighbourhoods (Anderson & Umberson, 2001, Bourgois, 1996; Lindegaard & Jacques, 2014; Rich & Grey, 2005). Anderson and Umberson (2001) argued that marginalised men emphasised how physically violent conflicts allowed them to gain respect in their neighbourhoods, while Rich and Grey (2005) found that young African American men perceived violence as a survival mechanism in their neighbourhoods. Rich and Grey (2005) explored the underlying issues behind recurrent violent injury amongst black men in an urban community in the United States and reported that men felt an

obligation to respond violently to crime in their communities. The *code of the street* was an emphasised theme in the men's stories and it was premised upon the notion of gaining and maintaining respect in their communities. If men felt they were 'disrespected' in their communities (i.e., through physical or emotional gestures), they would retaliate with violence to regain respect. Failure to regain respect in a violent fashion would result in further victimisation in the form of violence. These findings may lend more understanding as to whether violence is a choice, obligation or both for violent men, living in impoverished and marginalised communities.

1.2.4.4 Patriarchy and the media. Hearn and Kimmel (2007) argued that various organisations and institutions, such as the media, might be conceived of as practicing patriarchy in that they forge and reproduce gendered social relations and gendered inequalities. Even though the media claims to be neutral and objective, scholars have referred to the mass media as the "convening systems of modern societies", and have emphasised the critical and political role that the media plays in shaping public discourse (Gibbs & Jobson, 2011; Joffe, 1995, 1998; Portilla, 2008; Ryan, Anastario & DaCunha, 2006, p. 210; Washer & Joffe, 2006; Wasserman, 2003). The media's tendency to play an active role in tailoring the messages distributed to the public has also been a prime area of media and communication investigations (Bell, 1991; Ryan et al., 2006).

Steenveld (2004) argued that the mass media needs to be viewed as an outcome of the ongoing changes in the social, political and cultural climate in post-apartheid South Africa. During the Apartheid period of oppressive laws and policies, subjects relating to sexuality and gender-based violence were stringently censored (Gqola, 2004; Lewis & Orderson, 2012), which included the prohibition of sex across racial boundaries on account of the

colonial discourses that ‘othered’ the black sexuality (Posel, 2004). From the mid-1990s, issues of sexuality and sex entered the public arena, and the onset of the new Constitution signified press freedom (Lewis, 2007; Lewis & Orderson, 2012; Posel, 2004). However, this freedom of sexual talk and the very imagery of sex, gender and sexuality have been shown to stereotype particular groups (Morna & Ndlovu, 2007; Posel, 2004; Sanger, 2008). The stories and needs of women (especially rural and poor women) are still marginalised and at times, distorted in public communication (Lewis & Orderson, 2012). In a study by Morna and Ndlovu (2007) on gender and advertising in Southern Africa, it was found that sexist gender stereotypes are significantly prevalent in advertisements on television, billboards, radio and newspapers. They argued that women are often portrayed as “an object for the visual pleasure of men” (Morna & Ndlovu, 2007, p. 17), a finding that was echoed in Sanger’s (2008) study. In Sanger’s (2008) study, which sampled from South African magazines such as *Men’s Health*, *FHM (For Him Magazine)*, *Blink*, *Fair Lady*, *Femina* and *True Love*, it was reported that the men’s magazines which target black and white readers, positioned women as objects of the male gaze, and as hypersexual beings (Sanger, 2008). It was also found that the white female body was positioned as the norm and the black body as exotic and different (Sanger, 2008, 2009). Indeed a particular version of heterosexuality, namely the binary of the active man against the passive, subordinated woman appears to be “deeply embedded within” and historically shaped by media discourses (Allen, 2003, pp. 217; Morna & Ndlovu, 2007; Portilla, 2008; Sanger, 2008, 2009). In addition, the bodily integrity of women – some more than others – may still be compromised in the post-apartheid milieu despite the struggle for freedom and gender equality (Sanger, 2008, 2009).

Media discourses of violence against women are similarly critiqued for their harming constructions of women who experience violence, alongside the media’s superficial reporting

on such incidents. It has been noted by a number of sources, both locally and internationally, that when reporting on violence against women, journalists tend to draw upon “traditional crime beat sources” (Ryan et al., 2006, p. 212) and stories lack contextualisation into deeper underlying factors (Harries & Bird, 2005). In addition, violence researchers have highlighted the following problematic representations of partner violence in the media. Firstly, women victims of violence are positioned as largely responsible for solving or ending the violence perpetrated against them, thereby accentuating the discourse of intimate partner violence as a private problem (Benedict, 1992; Berns, 1999, 2001; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Meyers, 2004). Second, partner violence is sensationalized rather than seriously represented (Benedict, 1992; Harries & Bird, 2005; Lewis & Orderson, 2012; Meyers, 2004; Steeves, 1997) and third, news coverage sources are drawn heavily from male-dominated institutions, possibly leading to biases and insufficient focus upon the role of power and male control in violence in reports (Bullock, 2007; Lewis & Orderson, 2012). Fourth, the motives behind the perpetration of violence are often psychologised and individualised (Soothill & Walby, 1991), and therefore, focus on the victim is lost when determining the perpetrators’ motives (Meyers, 2004). Furthermore, these discourses of violence reinforce racist and classist stereotypes that over-represent working- class and black people (in particular men) as criminals, yet underrepresent them as victims (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Gibbs & Jobson, 2011; Meyers, 2004). In contrast, poor black women victims are furthermore stigmatised in relation to discourses that frame victims in a negative light (hooks, 1992; Lewis & Orderson, 2012; Meyers, 2004; Van Dijk, 1991). As hooks (1992) argued, white male supremacist ideologies are grounded in the media, which manufacture “specific images, representations of race, of blackness that support and maintain the oppression, exploitation, and overall domination of all black people” (p. 2). Coverage on violence against women also serves to isolate the victim, implying some level of

complicity, provocation and passivity on her part (Ryan et al., 2006), while men perpetrators remain hidden in this discourse (Meyers, 2004).

The theme of responsibility for the perpetration of IPV also shapes constructions of femininity. In making victims responsible for the violence perpetrated against them, some have argued that the good girl/bad girl or virgin/whore dichotomy is perpetuated (Benedict, 1992; Gilchrist, 2010; Grabe, Trager, Lear & Rauch, 2006; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Meyers, 2004). In Jiwani and Young's (2006) study it was argued that women victims of violence who may have deviated from patriarchal notions of appropriate feminine behaviour (e.g., by engaging in substance abuse, sex-worker employment, or dressing provocatively) were likely to be held responsible for the violence perpetrated against them. Portilla (2008) argued that blaming women for the violence perpetrated against them, and the sexualisation and objectification of women in the media is a product and consequence of a male-dominated society, which appears to be promoted and justified in some forms of media in the South African context.

In summary, these four broad thematic areas offered a comprehensive review of the multiple influences potentially involved in the perpetration of intimate partner violence against women. However, important limitations are also evident in constructing explanations for the perpetration of IPV within separate and distinct spheres, in that it becomes challenging to imagine violence perpetration in its entirety. The interactions between the four themes are critical for providing a holistic account of beliefs about intimate partner violence in a particular socio-cultural context. This study aims to address this gap, and the way in which it attempts to do so will be discussed in the next section.

1.3 Motivation

This study investigates the social representations of intimate partner violence amongst men, their social networks and in the media. It is largely motivated by the need to study the social and collective features of men's perpetration of intimate partner violence in the South African context, and is interested in the simultaneous examination of men perpetrators and their relationships, social circles, communities, and the media – a necessary area of work. As argued by Holter (2005), “good gender research and theory creation go beyond a static structure-actor division” (p. 16). As reviewed above, explanations for men's violence against women range from individual-psychological contributing factors to theories that explain this phenomenon vis-à-vis culture and structural domains. While all theories provide noteworthy explanations about partner abuse, a single theory, however, cannot adequately explain the multifaceted aspects of the perpetration of abuse (Bell & Naugle, 2008; Bograd, 1990; Hearn, 1998a). The interplay between the macro and micro systems has become increasingly relevant in more recent research as they allow for an account of the ecological dynamics of this social phenomenon. The employment of this much-needed integrated research framework has nevertheless been relatively sparse, but is developing, in intimate partner violence research.

As reviewed above, some noteworthy South African research has drawn attention to the relational construction of masculinity and violence (Boonzaier, 2005b, 2008; Lau & Stevens, 2012; Matzopoulos et al., 2008; Ragnarsson et al., 2009). This trajectory of research is growing and requires more focus upon the simultaneous exploration of violent men's behaviour in the context of their relationships, communities and within larger society. The array of explanations for understanding intimate partner violence in its various forms and in a range of disciplines indicates that the phenomenon transposes disciplinary boundaries, and therefore may require more complex explanations. As emphasised by Ratele (2013b),

“Violence demands to be accounted for at structural, symbolic and subjective levels” (p. 251).

Masculinity is also argued to be a collective practice (Connell, 1995), which does not exist within “social and cultural vacuums” (Hearn & Kimmel, 2007, p. 133), and is constructed within various institutional contexts such as the family, the workplace, schools, factories and in the media. As Hearn and Kimmel (2007) phrased it: “Gender is as much a structure of relationships within and between institutions as a property of individual identity” (p. 134) – a perspective which is recognised and adopted in the present study. The present study facilitates a more comprehensive understanding of men’s perpetration of intimate partner violence as a social event, which is recognised as taking place in specific social contexts, formed by social relationships that form a social structure, also termed a social network. This research aims to address this necessary area of knowledge to explore beliefs about intimate partner violence against women amongst violent men and their social networks in the South African context, with the aligned aim of understanding how these beliefs, held by social networks, may impact on the men’s beliefs about their own violence.

Connell, Hearn and Kimmel (2005) posit that studies on men and masculinities is still first and foremost “a First World enterprise” (p. 9), and the social science repertoire of masculinities literature across the globe remains uneven. Much of the scholarship being generated on men and masculinities is located within the United States, more so than in any other country (Connell et al., 2005). Hearn and Kimmel (2007) argued that global works are increasingly showing the “frequent ethnocentrism of Western assumptions about men, both sociologically and societally” (p. 135). It may then be anticipated that a significant portion of research that focuses on the explanations of violence against women has been from North America (Campbell, 2002; Jewkes, 2002), which may have led to generalising what is known

about intimate partner violence from a ‘westernised’ viewpoint. Theorists have noted that individualism is a cultural product of Western societies, and this preference for cognitive and individualist psychologies in Britain and America has been argued to relegate social theories to the margins of psychological studies (Farr, 1996; Howarth, 2006; Moscovici & Marková, 1998). Such individualistic approaches may be problematic when transposed to non-Western contexts, such as South Africa, where the individual and social are closely linked to each other. As summed up by Morrell and Swart (2005), the gendered and social conditions of the postcolonial world call for a malleable and an eclectic approach if men and women’s “lives are to be understood and, more important, appreciated and improved” (p. 90). More so, it has been suggested that these investigations be taken up by local researchers since sending out “First World researchers” (p. 137) might only reproduce “the very relations of dominance and subordination that are part of the problem” (Hearn & Kimmel, 2007, p. 137). The current study was therefore motivated by its potential to offer a rich historical, social and cultural contextually-based investigation into IPV in a post-colonial context, such as South Africa.

There have been notable concerns regarding popular representations of violence against women in the South African media, and the way in which subtle messages might condone VAW, and thus, obstruct the struggle against violence (Shefer, 2013). Therefore, it is necessary to place more culturally-sensitive and context-specific investigations at the core of research into the media. The South African media, has been shown to operate within power relations of race, class and gender, national and international agendas and market forces, indicating that examinations of the media requires “careful analysis and political insight” (Lewis & Orderson, 2012, p. 21). These scholarly debates (see Lewis & Orderson, 2012; Salo, 2003; Steenveld, 2004; Wasserman, 2003, 2008) have driven this study to focus upon the social and cultural context in which the South African media is positioned,

accompanied by the exploration of representations of IPV, and an analysis which is sensitive to issues of class, race, gender, sexuality, and other axes of power and difference. In addition, Joffe (1998) argued that people who first encounter a crisis often do so by way of the news media, or through others who are imparting this information in the news, thereby prompting this study to focus upon printed news media.

A call for new contextually-based conceptualisations of intimate partner violence, more complex constructions of gender (McHugh et al., 2005), and for local researchers to generate narratives of boys and men (Hearn & Kimmel, 2007; Shefer, Ratele, Strebel, Shabalala & Buikema, 2007), inspired this study to explore social representations of IPV amongst men, their networks and within the media. This research is located within a critical social psychological approach and social constructionism, and conceptualises intimate partner violence as a complex and multifaceted feature of human interaction that emerges in various forms and patterns. The meaning of violence is understood in relation to individuals' relationships, gender norms, the larger context in which the violence occurs, and other features of the socio-cultural and historical context.

1.4 Specific aims and research questions

With the acknowledgement that partner violence occurs in a specific historical, social context, within social relationships, which places IPV as an act within a social network; the aim of this study is to identify, describe and analyse the social representations of intimate partner violence within violent men and their social networks' narratives. An additional aim is to understand how these representations, shared by social networks, may impact on the men's beliefs about their own violence. The study simultaneously investigates representations of men's violence against women in the media, with the objective to obtain an institutional

lens into the discourses of IPV that circulate, and possibly frame, public thought on the matter. It is also an objective to analyse the media representations of IPV in relation to constructions of IPV drawn upon by the men and their networks, and to critically reflect on the implications of these representations. The following central research questions aims to address these objectives:

- *What* social representations of intimate partner violence emerge in men and their social network members' narratives, and in South African media's discourses?
- *How* do social representations of intimate partner violence emerge in men and their social network members' narratives, and in South African media's discourses?

In asking 'what' and 'how', this study demonstrates its interest in both the content and cognitive process behind the generation and maintenance of social representations, which has been noted to strengthen social representations studies (Moscovici, 1984a, 1984b).

In sum, this research seeks to be a vital contribution to the existing research base on intimate partner violence against women. Despite the magnitude of research that has focused upon intimate partner violence, the national and global prevalence rates of violence against women remain high. This alarming problem may point to the need for more context-specific approaches to explore beliefs regarding violence against women and the kind of functions they serve amongst and within social circles and communities. To my knowledge, this study is the first to have sampled men, their networks and printed media reports, through employing an integrated and unique methodology, framed within social representations theory and feminist poststructuralism. The findings that were generated from this research may indeed bring a distinctive slant to how intimate partner violence ought to be understood, in its

capacity to be a collective act. It will also contribute to the ongoing debates around tabloid journalism, by assessing this newspaper's value in the context of South African media, and its potential impact upon the growing media attention to gender-based violence, and more specifically IPV.

1.5 Outline of dissertation

This chapter introduced and contextualised the study, and presented the study's aims and central research questions. Chapter Two reviews the development of the concept of 'masculinity' and 'masculinities', and theorises about its earliest essentialist definitions and the more recent social constructionist perspectives. Discourses of South African men and violence are also situated in a range of possible positions, portraying them as perpetrators, victims, collaborators in ending violence, alongside a review of men's accounts of their own violence perpetration. The next chapter provides an overview of the origins, definitions and purpose of social representations theory. More importantly, this chapter shows that social representations theory has the potential to make a significant contribution to the study of violence against women in South Africa when paired with the feminist poststructuralist approach. The fourth chapter outlines the research methods for this study and the rationale behind the chosen design is outlined, while Chapters Five and Six present the findings of this study – social representations of gender and respectability, and social representations of intimate partner violence, respectively. The thesis concludes with chapter seven, which presents the summaries and implications of the findings, alongside recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: MEN, MASCULINITIES AND VIOLENCE

It has become a growing trend in South Africa and internationally to research and theorise about boys and men (Morrell, 1998b; Shefer et al., 2007), with theorists such as Morrell (1998a, 1998b, 2001), Morrell and Ouzgane (2005), Reid and Walker (2005), and Ratele (2013a, 2013b), having paved the way for South African work on masculinities. However, Shefer and colleagues (2007) argued that this work still remains somewhat marginal, in particular to research on girls and women. Much of the research and intervention on gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS post-1994 has been argued to focus on girls and women, with less or no focus upon boys and men (Shefer et al., 2007). This substantial focus on girls and women in these areas of research have inadvertently resulted in either blaming women or leaving them responsible for challenging or ending these phenomena (Ratele & Shefer, 2002; Strebel, 1993). Needless to say, this recent turn to boys and men has been important.

Men who have perpetrated violence against female partners form a central focus of the current study, and therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to review theories of masculinity, and to obtain a contextualized understanding of men, masculinities and violence in South Africa. The chapter is composed of three main sections. In the first section, the conceptualisation and development of the notion of ‘masculinity’ will be discussed, ranging from its earliest essentialist definitions towards more recent social constructionist perspectives. This section will also touch on the key scholarship on gender, and emphasis is placed upon Connell’s (1987, 1995) notion of hegemonic masculinity, which has played a key role in defining the field of men and masculinities. In the second section, Connell’s contribution is considered, alongside the critiques and reformulation of the concept of hegemonic masculinity, and its problematic application. The third section investigates the emerging discourses of masculinity and violence in South Africa, a post-colonial society

affected by recent political transitions. In addition, this section will review studies on men's accounts of their own perpetration of violence, and the implications for studies and work on men, masculinities, violence and change will be considered.

2.1 Studies on men and masculinities: Conceptualisation and development

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, scientists were instrumental in shaping the social and political roles of men and women (Fausto-Sterling, 1992; Mosse, 1996). Sociobiologists, for example, wrote about behaviours as if they were traits and held the perspective that evolutionary history influences intimate relationships (Fausto-Sterling, 1992). Men's 'natural' sexuality was argued to act as a force in compelling men to have multiple partners, thereby making men unreliable partners; while women were compelled to maintain the household and were argued to employ tactics to keep their partners from straying (Fausto-Sterling, 1992). This biological logic made male and female sexuality appear as polar opposites, thereby offering little prospect for change (Mosse, 1996).

Biological arguments have also shaped the criminal justice system in which women who commit acts of crime and violence were argued to be unaccountable for their actions due to "premenstrual syndrome" (Dalton, 1986; Greene & Dalton, 1953, p. 1007). Fausto-Sterling (1992) argued that biological explanations serve to reduce individuals' accountability for their actions. Furthermore, by the mid-twentieth century biological discourses had matured into what was known as the sex role model, in which studies of gender examined how the biological male and female were socialized as members of a particular culture (Hearn & Kimmel, 2007; Kimmel, 1987). Theorisations about sex roles also served to essentialise men and women's identities by making them appear static and fixed (see Bem, 1975; Hearn & Kimmel, 2007; Kimmel, 1987; Lorber, 1994; Morrell, 2001).

Biological discourses appeared to resonate with psychological theory on masculinity. In terms of psychological studies in the 1970s, masculinity was predominantly conceived of as an internalised identity (Connell et al., 2005) acquired through social learning agents such as family, school and the mass media (Hearn, 2007; Lorber, 1994). Men were analysed in groups, rather than as individuals, which resulted in stereotyping the attributes of the group to the individual (Mosse, 1996). The concept of masculinity was constructed in the singular and all men were expected to conform to the 'ideal masculinity' (Mosse, 1996). In addition, cultural norms often referred to in theories and research during this time had strong Western connections (Hearn, 2007; Hearn & Kimmel, 2007), without much regard for cultural norms in non-Western contexts.

Men and women were also thought to differ in certain ways, particularly with the reasoning that men were able to perform certain tasks better than women, and these differences were used to justify the division of social roles (Fausto-Sterling, 1992; Grim, 1996; Stufflebeam, 1996). One such example might be the research carried out by psychologists, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974), which reviewed the large body of work on sex differences. At least eight different claims for sex differences were disproved by their results (e.g., girls are more social than boys, girls have lower self-esteem than boys, and so forth) (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). However, it was concluded that four types of sex differences between boys and girls were confirmed, namely, differences in verbal ability (i.e., girls have greater verbal ability), visual spatial ability (i.e., boys perform better on tests of visual spatial ability), mathematical ability (i.e., boys excel in mathematical ability), and aggressive behavior (i.e., boys are more aggressive than girls).

With the onset of the women's liberation and gay liberation movements (the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s) the concept of the male sex role and research on sexual

differences were met with much criticism due to its ethnocentrism, positivism, and its absence of a power analysis (Bem, 1975; Bordo, 1999; Grim, 1996; Hearn, 2007; Kimmel, 1987; Mosse, 1996). Second wave feminists of the 1970s were aligned with this critique of the sex role model and argued that sex and gender represent two distinct categories; biological and anatomical differences between men and women would fall under sex differences, whilst gender differences were thought to be shaped by social forces (e.g., boys who perform better on math exams than girls would be the result of gender differences) (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). Bem (1974, 1975) and Bem and Lenney's (1976) work attempted to re-theorise about sex-roles, in response to the feminist critiques. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) was developed in 1974, which served as a measure for gender role perceptions, and was widely used in the field of psychology (Holt & Ellis, 1998). This inventory treated masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions of one's personality, thereby making it possible to measure gender roles separately and to measure androgyny (Bem, 1974). Similar to the feminist critiques, Bem's (1974, 1975) formulation of the BSRI was in response to the psychological conceptualisations of masculinity and femininity as distinct sex-role dichotomies and thought to obscure the notion that individuals might be androgynous (i.e., both masculine and feminine depending on situational factors).

In spite of these attempts to reformulate the sex role model and to reframe ideas about sex and gender, critiques still persisted. For example, a study conducted by Holt and Ellis (1998) found that the validity of the BSRI appeared to decrease over time; alongside further critiques by Street, Kimmel and Kromrey (1995) who argued that the measure resulted in gender stereotyping. Indeed, the body is too complex to consider the idea of clear sex differences as 'sex' is not a pure category (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). The idea of the sex role was also argued to impede on the conceptualisation of gender as fluid, and as an everyday

activity and interaction (West & Zimmerman, 1987), since the list of traits associated with men and women make sex roles appear static (Kimmel, 1987). By undervaluing the historical and social basis for gender relations, the sex role model allows that masculinity is associated with traits that imply authority and entitlement, while femininity is associated with traits that suggest passivity and subordination (Kimmel, 1987). Third wave feminist scholars contended that naming someone a man or woman should instead be understood as a societal decision, rather than a biological one, since there are “shades of difference” (p. 3) between genders (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). Ideas about sex are interrelated with ideas about gender, and thus scientists’ attempts to distinguish sexes may be futile (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). In light of these critiques of essentialism and biological thinking, social constructionist perspectives became more prominent, in which social power was stressed and dominant discourses of heterosexuality, heterosexism and homophobia were problematised (Hearn, 2007; Kimmel, 1987).

Critical work on men was influenced substantially by feminist analyses of gendered power relations (Hearn & Kimmel, 2007), which have focused upon two key relations of power, namely, the power that men exert over women (heterosocial power relations), and the power some men exercise over other men (homosocial power relations) (Hearn, 2007; Hearn & Kimmel, 2007). These developments have also been noted in the work of theorists such as Bourdieu (2001), Butler (1993), Connell (1987), and Morrell (1998a, 2001), who cultivated the idea that masculinity is constructed through boys’ and men’s relationships with girls and women, as well as other men, impacted by time and space. Masculinity is considered to be a relational performance, embodied and reproduced in spaces such as families, schools, sports, workplaces, media and religion and the traditions carried out in each of these contexts (Hearn, 1987; Holter, 2005; Messerschmidt, 2012; Ratele, 2013a). This inquiry into men’s

power relations have been argued to shape contemporary theories on the construction of masculinities (Connell et al., 2005).

Theorists have also advocated for masculinity in its plural form in order to acknowledge the diversity of masculinity (Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2010; Hearn, 2007; Kimmel et al., 2005; Morrell, 2001), which has been key in advancing the study of men and masculinities (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1985). A diversity of masculine practices is present in one particular culture or site, thereby reinforcing this notion of ‘masculinities’ (Ratele, 2013a). Morrell (2001) argued that in conceptualising masculinity as a fluid entity rather than a fixed identity it allows that shifts and contradictions within masculinities might emerge, which has great meaning for gender change.

Some critical theorists have advocated for gender as an act, activity and performance, which has furthermore assisted scholars in moving away from the biological differences of men and women, towards constructionist accounts of gender (Butler, 1990, 1993; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Butler (1993) explained that performativity should not be conceived of as a “singular or deliberate ‘act’” (p. 2) but rather as a repetitive practice. For West and Zimmerman (1987), gender is understood as a “routine, methodical and recurring accomplishment” (p. 44), and the ‘doing’ of gender is perceived as a complex set of activities and interactions that influence the production and expression of masculinities and femininities.

However, Butler (1993) posited that bodies are too complex to talk unambiguously about sexual difference or to delineate ‘sex’ as a pure category. Biological ideas about men and women do indeed become enmeshed in ideas about gender (Fausto-Sterling, 2000), suggesting that sex and gender are both social constructions that are materialized over time (Butler, 1990, 1993; Kessler & McKenna, 1978). Foucault (1980) showed that sex is not only

a norm but also a regulatory practice that produces the bodies it controls, and Butler (1993) argued that the regulatory norms of sex “work in a performative fashion” (p. 2) to materialise the body in terms of sex, sexual difference and to maintain the heterosexual norm. Furthermore, for West and Zimmerman (1987), gender is not necessarily perceived as the “property of individuals” (p. 44) but rather as an aspect of social settings in which individuals attempt to claim a sex category. More importantly, they consider the interaction between the concepts of sex, sex category and gender in order to fully understand the gendered being in society (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Other theorists, such as Bourdieu (2001) have problematised the notion of gender as purely a social construction. He argued that gender is imprinted on the person’s body, is made to appear natural and is not a product of social construction (Bourdieu, 2001). In theorising about the body, Bourdieu (2001, p. 11) argued that:

The social world constructs the body as a sexually defined reality and as the depository of sexually defining principles of vision and division. This embodied social programme of perception is applied to all things of the world and firstly to the *body* itself, in its biological entity.

Bourdieu (2001) argued that representations of sexual activity are imprinted and applied to the male and female body, for example, in the way that women learn how to tie their hair, how to move or remain still when walking, and to “present her face and turn her eyes” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 27). This view, though, has been deliberated amongst scholars such as Bordo (1999), Connell (1995, 2000), Elliott (2003) and Morrell (2001). As noted by Bordo (1999, p. 26), “when we look at bodies [...] we don’t just see biological nature at work, but values and ideals, differences and similarities that culture has ‘written’, so to speak, on those

bodies”. While Bourdieu (2001) views gender as a form of oppression without conceding to the multiple forms of domination that interacts with gender, Butler (1990, 1993) distinguishes the doing of gender through individuals’ unique experiences and through their positioning in society as powerful or oppressed.

One of the major contributions to contemporary studies on men and masculinities was the formulation of *hegemonic masculinity* in the late 1970s and was largely articulated and developed by Connell (1987, 1995), alongside the work of other Australian researchers, namely, Carrigan and colleagues (1985). Connell (1995) defined the notion of hegemonic masculinity as the “configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (p. 77). The concept of hegemony was drawn from Gramsci’s (1971) work which talks about the ways in which power is exercised by creating widely accepted norms (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Morrell, 2001). The accomplishment of this thriving masculinity may involve practices of domination over women and other men, patriarchal privilege, heterosexuality, wealth, education, whiteness, the performance of violence and aggression, toughness, the avoidance of vulnerability and weakness, and is defined in opposition to femininity as if the categories of ‘man’ and ‘woman’ are mutually exclusive (Collins, 2013; Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, 2010; Hearn & Kimmel, 2007; Hoosen & Collins, 2004; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; O’Sullivan, Harrison, Morrell, Monroe-Wise & Kubeka, 2006; Santana et al., 2006). More importantly, the cultural ideals of hegemonic masculinity do not resonate with the actual identity of most men, and should be viewed as a discursive positioning that is negotiated in each context (Connell, 1987).

A key segment of Connell's (1987, 1995) argument is relational significance, and the way in which certain forms of masculinity might be positioned in hierarchical relation to some forms of femininity and to 'non-hegemonic masculinities'. Complex and dynamic interplays between hegemonic, complicit, subordinated, and marginalised masculinities are argued to exist (Connell, 1995). For example, gay masculinities have been argued to be a "visible variety" (p. 6) of a dominated and marginalised masculinity in the context of the "troubled heteropatriarchal politics" (p. 6) in Africa (Morrell & Swart, 2005). Even though some gay men might assume aspects of hegemonic masculinity, they may still be positioned as a marginalised masculinity (Hearn & Kimmel, 2007). Furthermore, in the context of historically marginalised groups or racially subordinated classes, some men might be positioned as both hegemonic and subordinate (Ratele, 2013b). Hegemonic masculinity is then marked apart from other peripheral subordinate masculinities on account of their "cultural currency" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2010; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Messerschmidt, 2005; Ratele, 2013b, p. 251; Vetten & Ratele, 2013), which explains how multiple masculinities might coexist, yet "a particular version of masculinity holds sway" (Morrell, 1998a, p. 608). Furthermore, a culturally valued form of femininity, argued by Connell (1987) to hold sway in relation to men and other women is that of *emphasised femininity*, which refers to women who comply, encourage and remain subservient to men's domination over women, and are more likely to adjust to men's interests or desires. The term emphasised femininity was utilized to demonstrate the unequal relationship between masculinities and femininities in a patriarchal gender order (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). There has, however, been growing scholarly debate on the concept of hegemonic masculinity from historical, materialist and poststructuralist epistemological positions (Hearn, 2007; Hearn & Kimmel, 2007), which has led to a reformulation of the concept. These critiques and reinterpretations of hegemonic masculinity will be reviewed next.

2.2 Hegemonic and traditional masculinity: Critiques and reformulations

Despite the considerable growth of the concept of hegemonic masculinity amongst critical masculinity theorists (Hearn, 2012; Messerschmidt, 2012), much wide-spread criticism has been generated regarding 1) concerns about the concept of masculinity/masculinities (Hearn, 2012; Hearn & Kimmel, 2007; Jefferson, 2002; McMahon, 1993), 2) questions about who embodies hegemonic masculinity, how it is taken up in men's psyches and how various dominant masculinities interact with each other (Hearn, 2012; Hearn & Kimmel, 2007; Morrell, 2001; Wetherell & Edley, 1999), 3) the recognition that not all men have the same amount of power or benefit equally from it (Morrell, 2001), and 4) concerns that hegemonic masculinity might be reduced to negative attributes and representations of power and domination (Jefferson, 2002; Moller, 2007; Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012; Ratele, 2013b).

The concept of masculinity and masculinities has drawn much criticism by scholars regarding its ethnocentrism, reproduction of heterosexual binaries, and conceptual vagueness (Hearn, 2012). McMahon (1993) argued that scholars speak about masculinity in terms of 'aspects': "'Masculinity' is abstract, fragile, insecure, unemotional, independent, non-nurturant" (p. 690), rather than the type of masculinity to which they are referring. The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been argued to bring further complications. Hearn and Kimmel (2007) added that although Connell referred to hegemonic masculinity as a "configuration of gender practice" (Connell, 1995, p. 77), the use of the term in literature has appeared to refer to it as a type of masculinity. This was a similar concern for Connell (2008) who noted that scholars had a tendency to "read 'hegemonic masculinity' as a static character type, i.e., to psychologise the idea and ignore the whole question of gender dynamics" (pp. 244 – 245). Holter (2005) added that this tendency to essentialise masculinity may stem from

the view that power is fixed to the “male nature” (p. 18). Messerschmidt (2012) noted that scholars have not yet found a ‘universal’ hegemonic masculinity since it may be “extremely difficult to measure such ascendancy” (p. 73); therefore, it is incorrect to speak of hegemonic masculinity as a static entity. As noted previously, it is important to speak of masculinity in plural terms, and to explore masculinities and the way in which they are legitimated within the local, regional and global arenas, and the interplay between these levels (Messerschmidt, 2012).

These concerns led to the reformulation of hegemonic masculinity by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005). The reformulation of the concept involved an increased emphasis upon the intersectionality of gender with other social dynamics such as race, age, sexuality and nationality (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) to accentuate the plurality of masculinity. In addition, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, 2010) suggested that hegemonic masculinity should be acknowledge beyond the societal sphere, towards an analysis at three specific levels: the local (constructed within families, organisations and communities), regional (the societal level of culture or nationality) and global (arenas of world politics, business and the media). In motivating for links between these three levels, Messerschmidt (2012) argued that, “Global hegemonic masculinities pressure regional and local hegemonic masculinities, and regional hegemonic masculinity provide cultural material adopted or reworked in global arenas and utilized in local gender dynamics” (p. 59). Lastly, the relational aspects of hegemonic masculinities, femininities and non-hegemonic masculinities is a perspective that has “withstood the test of time” (Messerschmidt, 2012, p. 59), and therefore was retained in the reformulation. In attempts to undo the restrictiveness of the concept of hegemony, Hearn (2012) also suggested a reformulation of the concept of ‘hegemonic masculinity’ to the ‘hegemony of men’. Since “[t]he category of ‘men’ is far more hegemonic than a particular

masculinity” (p. 596), Hearn (2012) suggested that a focus on hegemony may be furthermore emphasised by shifting the focus from masculinity to the category of men and termed, ‘the hegemony of men’.

This reformulation of hegemonic masculinity has significant meaning for South African studies on men and masculinities. Morrell and colleagues (2012) and Ratele (2013b) have argued that, currently, there is still evidence of hegemonic masculinity employed as a ‘type’ and essentialised masculine practice amongst academics, practitioners and activists in South Africa. Similarly to the global trend, gender activism in South Africa was primarily a pursuit to be taken up by women for women, but from the mid-1990s onward a wave of interest in men and masculinities was generated in literature on gender (Morrell et al., 2012). The concept of hegemonic masculinity was popularly drawn upon to explain an idyllic model of masculinity and male power (Cock, 2001; Morrell, 1998a, 2001; Reid & Walker, 2005; Shefer et al., 2007; Swart, 2001; Xaba, 2001). However, the notion of ‘hegemony’ has become a fixed, static concept and was equated to “bad men” (p. 15) by gender equality activists, thereby developing a moral dualism of the non-hegemonic as the good man (Morrell et al., 2012). A specific kind of South African man has been notorious and tainted with this notion of hegemonic masculinity – that of the African man, which is often made visible by their youth, their colour and their unemployment (Morrell et al., 2012; Ratele, 2013b). Ratele (2013b) has problematised the use of the term hegemonic masculinity, especially for explaining Black male homicide. Young Black men have often been reduced to practicing hegemonic masculinity, without paying attention to the emotions and fears they experience in relation to their racialised histories (Ratele, 2013b). Morrell and Swart (2005) argued that this essentialisation of black men has resulted in the stereotyping and demonising of black men as “either thugs or sportsman” (p. 96) and as dangerous (Billings, 2011). Indeed, by theorising

about hegemonic masculinity as embodying a certain man, it may lead to the stigmatisation of such men who may already be marginalised in terms of race and social class.

Morrell and colleagues (2012) have clarified that the problematics of hegemonic masculinity has more to do with the way in which the concept has been taken up in literature, rather than critiquing Connell's initial formulation. These misinterpretations do not have to remain problematic as some theorists have argued for a way in which hegemony can play a more affirmative role in constructions of egalitarian masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Morrell et al., 2012; Sandberg, 2011; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), for example, made reference to the prospect of hegemony without oppression, highlighting the possibility of hegemonic masculinity to signal affirmation and emancipation. In Wetherell and Edley's (1999) paper, a critical analysis of the way in which hegemonic masculinity might be taken up in men's psycho-discursive practices was carried out, and it was conceded that men rarely conceive of their manhood in relation to hegemonic masculinity. In their study, men would often construct themselves as ordinary, thereby distancing themselves from perceived macho masculinities. Still this dissociation from hegemonic masculine ideals did not necessarily imply that hegemony was not reproduced; however it did demonstrate alternative ways in which hegemonic masculinity might be produced and re-enacted (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Conceptualisations of 'hard' masculinities (i.e., those that oppose feminised practices of complaining or seeking protection) are far from being hegemonic and static but are open to possibilities for new discourses of masculinity (Collins, 2013). As noted by Morrell (2001), "masculinities are constantly being protected and defended, are constantly breaking down and being recreated" (p. 7). Reconfigurations of masculinities are dependent upon fostering new discourses that pertain to a language outside of the dominant masculine norms (Vetten & Ratele, 2013). Such

emergent and new discourses of masculinity and violence will be reviewed in the next section, with particular reference to the South African context.

2.3 Emerging discourses of masculinities and violence in post-apartheid South Africa

New directions and ways of studying masculinity have become integral in understanding men, masculinities and violence. Three emergent discourses on masculinities and violence in the South African context have been highlighted by Vetten and Ratele (2013), namely, the intersection of men's identities, the victimisation of men and men collaborating to prevent violence. These areas of priority show that masculinities – influenced by the personal and social – can and do change (Morrell, 1998b). Therefore, research on masculinities requires a paralleled investigation of the changes occurring in the broader social setting. This section reviews Vetten and Ratele's (2013) emergent discourses, alongside the evaluation of other locally and internationally notable areas of work, which include men's accounts of their own violence and research on respectability. This section begins with a review of literature on men's accounts of their own perpetration of violence, followed by a focus upon masculinities and intersectionalities, and a review of literature on respectability, morality and reputation. The final two sections investigate the discourses of the victimisation of men, and men collaborating to end violence.

2.3.1 Men's 'talk' about partner violence. In recent years, psychological and discursive research has paid particular attention to the multiple, complex and contradictory masculinities in particular settings (Adams, Towns & Gavey, 1995; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). This work has been instrumental in emphasising the finer details of men's talk and the

way in which violence against women might be described by men (Adams et al., 1995; Boonzaier, 2005b, 2008; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh & Lewis, 2000; Hydén, 1994; LeCouteur & Oxlad, 2011; O'Neill, 1998; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2014; Wood, 2004). A series of key themes have emerged across studies that have investigated men's talk about their own violence against partners. A trajectory of work has highlighted themes of justifications and minimisations that have emerged in men's talk of their own violence perpetration (Adams et al., 1995; Boonzaier, 2005b, 2008; Hydén, 1994; Wood, 2004). Hydén (1994) found that men would employ minimising strategies to neutralise their acts of violence and in mutualising the violent act, the men also obscured the dominant-submissive relations between themselves and their partners. A body of intimate partner violence research has also pointed to romantic discourses used by men or women to justify their violence and explain violence to be an expression of love (Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Boonzaier, 2008; Buchbinder & Eisikovits, 2004; Lau & Stevens, 2012; Wood, 2004).

Researchers have found that men minimise their violence by constructing non-violent images of themselves and by positioning themselves as normal, reasonable and changed men (Boonzaier, 2005b, 2008; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Goodrum, Umberson & Anderson, 2001; Lau & Stevens, 2012). Some studies showed how men participants might deconstruct their criminal identities and instead represent themselves as law-abiding individuals (van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2014) or as individuals in need of treatment rather than arrest (Buchbinder & Eisikovits, 2004). Hearn (1998a) and Wood (2004) have made sense of the contradictory selves often employed by batterers by arguing that men might make meaning of their violence by narrating vis-à-vis the 'double self'; the violent self who perpetrated the violent act and the talking self being interviewed and considered to be non-violent.

Literature on intimate partner violence has also brought attention to victim-blaming as another way in which men might aim to minimise or excuse their perpetration of violence against a woman partner (Anderson & Umberson, 2001; LeCouteur & Oxlad, 2011; Wood, 2004). Wood (2004) found that incarcerated men justified their perpetration of violence by arguing that women partners “took” (p. 564) the abuse, and LeCouteur and Oxlad (2011) observed that women were blamed for the violence perpetrated against them when they breached traditional gender role norms (LeCouteur & Oxlad, 2011). In this discourse of victim-blaming, men performed particular ‘masculine’ identities for their women partners, whilst representing themselves as ‘victims’ (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2014). For example, Boonzaier and de la Rey (2004) observed that men constructed themselves as emasculated in relation to their ‘masculinised’ women partners who were depicted by the men as dominant, controlling and in some instances, abusive. Men were also found to position their partners as devious in their use of the justice system (van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2014), whilst other studies found that men constructed the justice system as gender-biased and ‘for’ women (Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Marcus, 1994). Men who acknowledged the wrongness of their abuse were still found to participate in attempts to blame female partners for betraying the gender order and hold them responsible for the perpetration of violence (LeCouteur & Oxlad, 2011).

Few qualitative studies have examined men and women’s relational constructions of violence in their intimate relationships in the South African context, with the notable exception of Boonzaier’s (2005a, 2005b, 2008) study. In her narrative analysis of interviews conducted with heterosexual South African couples attending educational courses for perpetrators of violence against women, it was shown how women abuse was understood as a “problem of the self” (Boonzaier, 2008, p. 200). Women’s bodies were constructed as objects

of male control and abuse was constructed as a mutual problem (Boonzaier, 2008). This finding of ‘shared responsibility’ for violence was echoed in LeCouteur and Oxlad’s (2011) study in which men reported that accountability for the violence should be shared in their intimate relationships, which has important implications for disguising the patriarchal practices implicit in men’s violence against women. These findings may lend more insight into how individuals make sense of partner violence “through their retrospective telling of the relationship” (Boonzaier, 2008, p. 201) and their relational experience of violence.

Narratives of change and responsibility have also been prominent in masculinity and violence research. O’Neill (1998) and Dobash and colleagues (2000) investigated how men’s justifications allow them to shy away from taking responsibility. O’Neill (1998) found that men might construct their violence as abnormal to reduce their accountability, while Dobash and colleagues (2000) reported that men may also construct themselves as ‘victims’ of external events that caused them to become violent. In contrast, change narratives and reflections of remorse and regret (Lau & Stevens, 2012; Wood, 2004), apologies (Cavanagh et al., 2001) or confessions (Hearn, 1998a) were prominent in men’s accounts to gain contrition and absolution for their perpetration of violence. Change narratives were found to take a ‘now and then’ structure in Lau and Steven’s (2012) study demonstrating men’s shifting positions from “sinner” to being “saved” (p. 13). The studies reviewed in this section have been central to understanding how men account for their violence against partners. Recent developments in research on masculinities and violence have also sparked much dialogue on topics related to masculinities and intersectionality.

2.3.2. Masculinities, marginalisation and intersectionality. A body of scholarship, as well as popular discourse on men has illustrated a growing interest in difference, diversity,

fragmentation and intersectionality (Hearn, 2007). Intersectionality refers to the core theoretical tenet put forward by second wave feminists who posit that social identities and oppressions derived from sexuality, ethnicity, gender, class, race, disability and so forth, intersect and are “interdependent and mutually constitutive” (Bowleg, 2008, p. 312; Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1994). A series of theorists alike have noted that the construction of masculinities intersects with other social oppressions, divisions and differences (Connell et al., 2005; Hearn & Kimmel, 2007; Holter, 2005; Messerschmidt, 2005). Men and masculinities might be considered a study of gender alone but as Hearn and Kimmel (2007) and Connell and others (2005, p. 3) have agreed: “men are not simply men or simply about gender” (p. 3). Men’s gender might intersect and exist within divisions of race, ethnicity, class, occupation and other social differences where a single social context may constitute a diversity of discourses of masculinity (Connell et al., 2005; Hearn & Kimmel, 2007; Holter, 2005; Messerschmidt, 2005; Morrell, 2001; Vetten & Ratele, 2013). In a similar light, Hearn, Blagojević and Harrison (2013) make a case for turning the focus onto transnational men, advocating for research to go beyond investigations into men, gender and sexuality towards a broader focus upon nationalism, race, ethnicities, and intersectionalities.

Some intersectional studies on masculinities have employed ethnography to explore how men make meaning of being a man (Bourgois, 1996; Gutmann, 1996, 1997). For example, Gutmann (1996, 1997) examined the construction of masculinity amongst poor men in Mexico City. South African intersectional studies have also begun emerging within media and communication research on constructions of gender (Lewis, 2007; Lewis & Orderson, 2012; Meyers, 2004; Morna & Ndlovu, 2007; Posel, 2004; Sanger, 2008, 2009). Sanger (2008) showed how the sexualisation of women’s bodies is racialised in men and women’s magazines to the extent that the racialised construction of black women implies that

“whiteness remains the unmarked norm” (p. 289). However, the ideal black and white heterosexual masculinities are constructed in men’s magazines in South Africa, in terms of “(hetero)sexual prowess, abilities and successful careers” (Sanger, 2009, p. 140). Addressing the intersectionality of gender, race and class has been argued by Meyers (2004) as a necessary approach for the study of representation – an argument which the current study echoes, and adopts in its analysis of men, their networks and the media’s representations of IPV.

Intersectionality has been at the core of theorising in critical race studies, black studies, and postcolonial studies (Morrell, 1998b; Morrell & Swart, 2005; Ratele, 2013b). Critical work on men and masculinities has taken a similar theoretical pathway; Hearn (2007) noted that critical work on men and masculinity is in the process of moving away from Western contexts towards the global South, particularly in the field of development and postcolonial studies. Research on men and masculinities in Africa, have in particular, had a distinctive focus upon race relations and violence, as well as growing research on HIV/AIDS (Boonzaier, 2005b, 2008; Gqola, 2007; Morrell, 1998a, 1998b, 2001, 2007; Morrell et al., 2012; Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005; Pattman, 2001, 2007; Posel, 2005; Ratele, 2003, 2008a, 2008b, 2013a, 2013b; Ratele et al., 2007; Salo, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007; Shefer et al., 2007; Walker, 2005). However, Morrell and Swart (2005) have posited that race and gender work in post-colonial contexts, such as South Africa, have placed significant weight upon the study of women, yet a similar emphasis has not been placed upon understanding black men. This area of work on masculinities and intersectionality is of particular relevance in South Africa in which race has been a central marker of difference and deprivation (Vetten & Ratele, 2013). As noted by Morrell and Swart (2005) the struggle for emancipation cannot only be expressed through race alone but also through gender. In terms of gender, the end of

colonialism left a mark in terms of the values it represented; in the form of the dominant masculinity embodying itself in the family, heterosexual relations, and by objectifying women (Morrell & Swart, 2005).

Intersectional investigations into men perpetrators of violence may also assist in dismantling binary oppositions of men and women, since Lorber (1994) suggests that race and class work together to forge different women and men. As shown by Langa and Kiguwa (2013), for young black men who find themselves on the peripheries of matrices of oppression, the friction between the ideal and real is heightened. Indeed, black impoverished men have been argued to experience extreme pressures to enact a thriving/hegemonic masculinity (Ratele, 2013b; Rich & Grey, 2005; Whitehead, 2005) with limited opportunities to perform this masculinity out of the context of “racism on the streets and racism within institutions” (Whitehead, 2005, p. 418). South African black men have fewer opportunities to obtain the “societally exalted masculinity” (p. 256) in comparison to white men, and the body may become one of the main ways in which to express masculine dominance (Ratele, 2013b). For example, a wealthy white man might do masculinity in the “safe space” (p. 418) of rugby; whilst a black man living in a racist impoverished setting might do masculinity in the “unsafe space” (p. 418) of the streets, with the possibility of falling prey to racist violence (Whitehead, 2005). It has been found that gangsterism on the Cape Flats is a way in which marginalised men (through class, race or masculinity) gain status, allowing them to be seen as a ‘man’ by other men (Gibson & Lindegaard, 2007; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Salo, 2007; Ragnarsson et al., 2009), and leading some to argue that black men’s vulnerability may very well be hidden behind a façade of a fearless and unwavering bravado (Ratele, 2013b). This strand of intersectional literature has given scholars considerable reason to refer to multiple hegemonic masculinities in the South African context since social identities of race, class,

urban and rural most likely play a significant part in connecting certain masculinities to certain social settings (Morrell et al., 2012; Ratele, 2013b).

2.3.3 Respectability, morality and reputation. Messerschmidt (2012) suggested that work on hegemonic masculinities be extended by investigating how it is constructed in and through the body. Respectability is a concept that has been increasingly adopted in gender and sexuality research, and speaks to the intersectional features of experience, as well as how social actors embody respectability. This ideology also has deep-seated meaning for the intersection of multiple identities, such as race, class, gender, and sexuality in both apartheid and contemporary South Africa.

Respectability has been framed as a “highly malleable ideology” (Thomas, 2006, p. 467), because of its complex and dynamic meaning (Goodhew, 2000; Huppertz, 2010). Ball (1970) argued that respectability is a vital ingredient in gaining social status, making it an individual and collective concern. A person might be considered respectable when they attain normality and morality, and this respectability must be verified by an audience (Ball, 1970; Duneier, 1992). Some scholars have also distinguished respectability as a performance that is bound up with ‘class’, in particular as a feature of the middle and upper classes (Mosse, 1988; Skeggs, 1997; Wilson, 1969). In the 19th and 20th centuries, respectability was a common feature amongst the middle classes, distinguishing this group from what was considered to be the ‘lazy’ working classes (Mosse, 1988). Respectability can, however, still be attainable for the working classes, despite stereotypes that stigmatise them as, “dangerous, polluting, threatening, revolutionary, pathological and without respect” (Skeggs, 1997, p. 2). The working-class may strive towards respectability and thus a positive identity by emphasizing class differences between themselves and other working class folk, regarded as rough and

unskilled (Duneier, 1992; Goodhew, 2000; Skeggs, 1997; Thomas, 2006; Watt, 2006). In addition, orderliness, cleanliness, respect for the law, purity, devotion to duty, education, modesty, moderation, and economic independence are also counted as the cornerstones of respectability (Enefalk, 2013; Goodhew, 2000; Watt, 2006). Respectability has been regarded as a form of moral authority, and a means through which individuals or groups distinguish themselves from 'other' social and symbolic positions (Rhodes, 2011).

The ideology of respectability generates varied meanings across socio-historical groups and contexts (Goodhew, 2000; Huppertz, 2010). According to Campbell (1998), the concepts of 'respect' and 'respectability' have been central to cultural traditions amongst black social groups in South Africa. In South Africa, historians and sociologists argued that the ideology of respectability might be traced back to the influences of British colonialism in South Africa during the 1870s and 1880s, in which the Victorian virtues of "thrift, the sanctity of property, deference to superiors, belief in the moralising efficacy of hard work and cleanliness" as upright, decent and good were established (Bickford-Smith, 1995; Hendricks, 2001; Lindegaard & Henriksen, 2009; Thomas, 2006). It was during the Victorian period that the dualism of homosexuality and heterosexuality took its roots, and clear-cut binaries were formulated between the category of man and woman (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). It was also during the Victorian period that Christian white women were positioned as the epitome of respectability (Bickford-Smith, 1995) and these sentiments are still, to some extent, echoed in contemporary South Africa (Erasmus, 2000, 2001). Lindegaard and Henriksen (2009), for example, argued that black women have been disparaged for lacking respectability; yet, white South African women have been represented as naturally inhabiting respectability. For the sake of being regarded as respectable and moral, it has been contended that black women

were compelled into refashioning their behaviours in order to meet a white ‘standard’ of respectability (Lindegaard & Henriksen, 2009).

Colonial and apartheid discourses of state and civil society were also largely situated within the tradition that conceptualised identity as biological, and thus static (Reddy, 2001), indicating the extent to which respectability may have been used as a tool to essentialise identities, embodied by purity and whiteness. Respectability was indeed measured against whiteness, which may have been anticipated given the superior position of the white ruling class in the Cape since colonial times (Western, 1996). Western (1996) reported that the first Dutch governor of the Cape, Jan van Riebeeck, referred to Khoikhoi⁵ as “savages” and “lazy stinking people” (p. 15), a stereotype which was maintained beyond colonial ruling. Scholars have argued that many coloured people have internalised these stereotypes resulting in shame and the need to attain and maintain standards of respectability (Erasmus, 2001; Western, 1996). Erasmus (2001) described this performance of respectability for the coloured middle-class as nothing short of anxiety-provoking due to the pressures of maintaining this ‘standard’. Respectability was also assessed by language in colonial and apartheid South Africa, with English being associated with dignity, being cultured and respectable (Lewis, 2001; Mama, 2001; Rive, 1981). A particular dialect of Afrikaans or what was referred to as ‘*gamtaal*’⁶ was widely spoken amongst coloured Cape Flats’ communities; however, Lewis (2001) argued that speaking English – the language of so-called “culture and civility” (p. 145) – was a prime example of racial domination. In evading the Cape Flats dialect of Afrikaans coloured people may have gained some power, with the added benefits of being marked with dignity and respectability (Western, 1996). In addition, this discourse of English

⁵ Coloured people are argued to hold their origins in a range of ethnic groups, from Cape slaves and Khoisan to European settlers (Adhikari, 2005).

⁶ The speech considered to be adopted by lower-class coloured individuals (Lewis, 2001)

‘civility’ may still influence performances of respectability in contemporary times. As confirmed by Skeggs (1997), respectability informs “how we speak, who we speak to, how we classify others” (p. 2).

Beyond the race and class dimensions of respectability, the ideology also has significant meaning for gender. Amongst the coloured working-classes under apartheid and even in current day Cape Flats, respectability and morality were predominantly the domain of coloured adult women in communities; a position that men were even found to protect and maintain (Jensen, 2009; Salo, 2006). Women’s social and moral duties were often practiced in the form of being compliant, timid and selfless, whilst monitoring young people’s public appearances, behaviours, and their suitability as marriage partners (Jensen, 2009; Salo, 2003, 2004, 2006). Marriage is considered a feature of respectability since it has strong links to the social order inscribed by legal and religious institutions (Wilson, 1969). In assessing young men as worthy marriage partners, they had to be rated as respectable and from ‘*ordentlike*’⁷ households (Salo, 2003). Young women were instead measured by domesticity, sexual purity, and their ability to undertake the duties of motherhood and as wives – these continue to be features of the respectable feminine ideals in current day South Africa as well (Erasmus, 2001; Jensen, 2009; Salo, 2003). In showing sexual restraint, young women’s social safety is assured, allowing them to be received into the network of family and neighbours – an important part of daily living in the townships (Lindegaard & Henriksen, 2009).

Respectability theorists have largely noted the distinctions between men and women’s respectable performances, and the static portrayals of what reputable men and women ought to be (Bourdieu, 2001; Erasmus, 2001; Lindegaard & Henriksen, 2009; Salo, 2003, 2004, 2006; Wilson, 1969). Women are largely noted as the carriers of respectability; however,

⁷ Afrikaans term for respectable.

male youth are argued to be more concerned with building a reputation in their youth, which may be practiced by being “great studs, drinkers, fighters and gamblers” (p. 78) – pastimes which are often considered taboo by society (McDowell, 2002; Wilson, 1969). Such rebellious young men – who are concerned only with reputation – have been argued to be a threat to a respectable society (McDowell, 2002). With age, men are argued to become more invested in a value system related to respectability by taking on responsibility, getting married, entering fatherhood and being providers (Wilson, 1969). The current study’s analysis highlights the reproduction of notions of respectability, morality, and reputation in current day Cape Town, and will show how these representations still remain crucial knowledge systems for the participants in the study.

2.3.4 The victimisation and anxieties of men. In speaking about masculine norms that men attempt to achieve, Seidler (1996, p. 63) expressed that: “As men, we often grow up to be strangers to ourselves. We experience little connection with our emotions and feelings. This is not the way we are born, nor is it a feature of our biological nature as men”. Some South African theorists have highlighted the way in which men may be made vulnerable through unequal gender relations, which become somewhat “unthinkable” (Clowes, 2013, p. 12) in popular discourses of gender justice (Ratele, 2013b). Clowes (2013) has suggested that this absence of talk about men’s vulnerability may be linked to a dearth of popular language that verifies such perceptions of men, while Shefer and others (2007) argue that the discourse of men as perpetrators obscures perceptions of men as vulnerable. Although the acknowledgement of men’s social power in relation to women is important, Ratele (2013b) argued that it is equally crucial to understand young Black men’s vulnerability, fear and

psychosocial insecurity, and their fearlessness, anger and rage, and the part it plays in the perpetration of violence.

In exploring men's relations with other men, masculinity theorists have pointed to the emotions of men implicated in the perpetration of interpersonal violence and crime (Bourdieu, 2001; Ratele, 2013b; Whitehead, 2005). In Ratele's (2013b) paper, he argued that nearly two decades post-apartheid, the risk of violent death for young Black men remains high. He argued that gaining a deeper understanding of the role of emotions, alongside structural and symbolic analyses, is integral in understanding the construction and performance of Black young masculinities (Ratele, 2013b). He furthermore argued that a lack of attention to fear may be one of the hurdles standing in the way of reducing levels of violence in South Africa and changing African masculinities (Ratele, 2013b).

There has been an increase in research on subjectivity within critical psychology (Adams et al., 1995; Wetherell & Edley, 1999) at times with a specific focus upon psychoanalytic psycho-social theory and psycho-discursive practice (Billig, 1997; Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopoulos, & Walkerdine, 2008; Frosh, 1989, 1994, 1999, 2010; Hollway, 1989, 2004; Wetherell, 2008) or upon studies of masculinities, men and violence (Gadd, 2002, 2003; Gadd & Farrall, 2004; Gadd & Jefferson, 2007; Jefferson, 1996a, 1996b). Critical masculinity theorists in the global North, such as Jefferson (1996a), combined the postmodernist notion of discourse with psychoanalytic concepts of anxiety, and the unconscious defences of "splitting" and "projection" to better grasp the discursive positioning of individuals. He argued that the key to understanding individuals' discursive choices is to be found in "the defensive attempts people make to ward off anxiety, to avoid feelings of powerlessness" (Jefferson, 1996b, p. 158). Jefferson's work, however, has received some critique for having scant discussion on gendered power relations and how this power is

related to race, class and crime (Messerschmidt, 2005). It has been suggested by Wisecup, Robinson and Smith-Lovin (2007) that research on emotion work ought to be combined with the intersection of class and gender to not only benefit the future of emotion work, but to also solidify the links between the intersections of masculinity, violence perpetration, and emotions.

In South Africa, a body of scholarship on masculinities and emotion work, through an intersectional lens, has recently been paved. Ratele (2013b) argued that Biko (2004) established significant interest in the history of negative emotions and politics in South Africa, and its ability to shape Black masculinities. Upon the white man settler arriving in Southern Africa, he ensured a position of privilege that could be maintained through violence and fear (Biko, 2004). The fear that pervaded South Africa, Ratele (2013b) argued, has deep colonial roots indicating the extent to which racialised fear, white male privilege, subordination of black people and violence are interconnected. Biko (2004) also noted the interplay of emotions of anger, rage, hatred and fear, and therefore, attention ought to be paid to such emotions and their destructive impact on men.

Notions of victimisation and emotion have been considered the domain of girls and women in popular language (Clowes, 2013). In South Africa, women have been positioned as the most vulnerable and marginalised groups in this country (Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998, 1998), and thus in need of protection. Vetten and Ratele (2013), have suggested that the vulnerability of women is deeply-rooted in public and policy discourse of victimization, which has implications for the way in which the victimization and emotions of men is conceived. Manliness, as termed by Bourdieu (2001), ought to be considered a relational performance for other men, against femininity, “in a kind of fear of the female, firstly in oneself” (p. 53). Tasks considered to be courageous (and at times dangerous) have been

argued to arise from the fear of losing the esteem or respect of other men; of ‘losing face’ in front of friends and being ridiculed to the female category of “wimps”, “girlies” and “fairies” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 52; Seidler, 1996). Whitehead (2005) has argued that a man who faces another man might feel “double fear” (p. 415) in that he might be afraid of the man, and afraid that he may not be able to surpass his own fear. Feelings might motivate individuals to obey and follow normative and situational cues, while negative emotions such as embarrassment or shame might result from the failure to achieve the person’s desired self-presentation (Goffman, 1959). This masculine anxiety was argued by Whitehead (2005) to be a way in which to explain how panic and anxiety might lead to men’s use of violence, in spite of some who may have the capacity for moral reasoning and victim empathy (Seidler, 1996). Parallel to Whitehead’s (2005) argument, Seidler (1996) added that “masculinity is never something you can feel at ease with. It is always something you have to be ready to defend and prove.” (p. 64). In the fight to ensure that fear and anxiety never surface, it may motivate young men to condone the idea that masculinity is defined by “playing it cool, ignoring pain, and never walking away from a fight” (Ratele, 2010, p. 20; Shefer et al., 2007).

Scholars have also located this dearth of popular language on men’s victimisation within feminist perspectives that construct men as dominators (hooks, 2004; Seidler, 1996) and to representations that equate hegemonic masculinity with domination, allowing little space for what men do, say and feel (Moller, 2007). Shefer and colleagues (2007) argued that the “uncritical discourse of male dominance-female submissiveness” (p. 2) – frequently employed by South African scholars – has led to narrow and static portrayals of masculinity, femininity and heterosexuality. These feminist perspectives have been suggested to “drive many men into a deeper silence” (p. 63) and may lead men to feel guilt due to their positions of power (Seidler, 1996). As hooks (2004) summed it up:

When feminist women insist that all men are powerful oppressors who victimize from the location of power, they obscure the reality that many victimize from the location of victimization. The violence they do to others is usually a mirroring of the violence upon and within the self [...] Failure to examine the victimization of men keeps us from understanding maleness, from uncovering the space of connection that might lead more men to seek feminist transformation” (pp. 139-140).

At the same time, hooks (1981) advised against idealising either men or women as it is also important to acknowledge their role and responsibility in the high levels of violence perpetration against women and some men. In sum, reconfigurations of masculinities are dependent upon fostering a language of male vulnerability within a social setting that is “fiercely resistant” (p. 8) to such notions, and in which victimisation has been reinforced and maintained as wholly feminine (Vetten & Ratele, 2013).

2.3.5 Men ending violence. Finally, discussions about men and violence have moved towards positioning men as collaborators in the project to end men’s violence against women. Since 1994, the work of the South African state has been dedicated to driving gender equality (Jewkes, Morrell & Christofides, 2009; Morrell, 2001). Xaba (2001) showed the way in which changes in the state in the 1990s reflected changing gender values. For example, violence in the struggle against oppression was considered gallant and necessary, but in the ‘new’ South Africa, this violence is criminal, illegal and damaging. According to Morrell (2001), the 1990s were marked by addressing issues of masculinity and by the struggle for gender equality, both locally and internationally. There has been an increasing call for all men to act as ‘subjects’ – to stand against the scourge of violence against women, to

demonstrate empathy and to take responsibility for reducing and preventing men's violence (Griffin, 2013; Sukhu, 2013). The rationale behind this call is that men's silence or inaction may inadvertently be a sign of supporting violence against women (Griffin, 2013; Sukhu, 2013). One example of this movement was cultivated by the Beijing Declaration of Women in 1995 which involved the robust campaign for women's rights (Morrell, 2001). In South Africa, this initiative to involve men in the struggle against violence against women was first documented in South Africa through the 5 in 6 Project, established in Cape Town in 1993 (Parenzee, 1998). The 5 in 6 Project aimed to explore the ways in which men can take responsibility for addressing violence against women, children and the community and to encourage men to challenge the stigma that identifies men with 'perpetrators' (Parenzee, 1998).

Another example is that of Sonke Gender Justice which was established in August 2006 and operates across Africa to strengthen the state and civil society in the struggle for gender equality, the prevention of violence against women and children, and to reduce the impact and prevalence of HIV and AIDS (Sonke Gender Justice, 2014). Sonke also established a project – the One Man Can Campaign – which serves as an outreach programme to educate men about health and to challenge harmful gender norms (IOM & Sonke Training Manual, 2009). Morrell (1998b) argued that men's involvement in the movement for gender justice is advancing and is creating critical thought around new ways of being men, gender change and a "culture of peace" (p. 7). It is a struggle against gender discrimination and ultimately aims to unite men and women (Morrell, 1998b).

With the onset of the 'new men's movement', men were given the opportunity to congregate and review issues of gender relations and to problematise the ways in which men might exploit women (Morrell, 2001). These representations of 'the new man' involved the

construction of a masculine archetype, characterised by his introspection, his alliance and co-operation with women's rights, and his shunning of violent activities and acts in general (McMahon, 1993; Morrell, 1998b). The agenda of the new men's movement was also to confront what was considered to be a 'crisis of masculinity'; a Western discourse that had also taken root in South Africa (Posel, 2004; Sideris, 2004; Walker, 2005). This crisis was characterised by the transitions in the Constitution and changes in the associated gender and power relations, leading to some men's absence as fathers and men's subordinate positioning in the labour force (Morrell, 2001; Walker, 2005). In 1993, 36 percent of children had absent, but living fathers, and by 2002, this figure had increased to 46 percent (Barbarin & Richter, 2001). A generation had passed in which children grew up fatherless and women's increasing positions in the workforce had replaced men, possibly diminishing men's authority and dominance and increasing men's vulnerabilities (Morrell, 1998b; Posel, 2004). Nonetheless, Sideris (2004) argued that the crisis theory results in women being blamed for men's anxieties and vulnerabilities, which ultimately functions to bind men's groups in their reconstitution of male privilege.

While some men responded violently to shifts in gendered power relations (Morrell, 1998b), other men welcomed these changes and created space for 'new' masculinities (Walker, 2005). However, in speaking about gender transformation and new masculinities in South Africa, Morrell (1998b) argued that the process of gender change will be uneven and experienced differently by men, depending on their race and class. Morrell (1998b) advised that it is crucial to pay attention to how different South African masculinities function, alongside the relationships between these subordinate masculinities in projects concerned with gender transformation.

Representations of a ‘crisis of masculinity’ also surfaced in the media. Some scholars have shown that in the context of gender-based violence there are very few subject positionings available to men other than that of ‘perpetrator’ or ‘policemen’ (Harries & Bird, 2005). Harries and Bird (2005) argued that historically, institutions such as the media, government and civil society organisations have tended to represent gender-based violence as being a sphere exclusively for women. However, a consequence of this one-dimensional representation is that violence against women may have become a struggle for women alone, with very few positive roles for men to take up as part of the struggle (Harries & Bird, 2005). While an aim of feminist studies of men is to make men responsible for their violent behaviours, critiques have surfaced arguing that a change of behaviour and values need to come from men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2010; Morrell, 1998b). Gqola (2007) acknowledged that while men are not the only individuals who are responsible for the violence that plagues the nation, it does not change the fact that all citizens – including men – have the duty to critique practices and policies which are the product of violent masculinities (Morrell, 1998b).

2.4 Chapter summary

This chapter reviewed the development of the concept of ‘masculinity’ and theorised about its earliest essentialist definitions and the more recent social constructionist perspectives. Key scholarship on gender and its performative features were outlined, as well as an overview of the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which was considered in light of critiques, its reformulation and its problematic application in the South African context and beyond. The final section reviewed men’s accounts of their violence and situated South African men and violence in a range of possible positions, portraying them as perpetrators, victims and

collaborators in ending violence. It was argued by some (Clowes, 2013; Vetten & Ratele, 2013) that men's positioning as victims may be the most unimaginable since it is "so counter-hegemonic" (p. 10). Furthermore, some men's violence is shaped within a complex web of inequalities, intersecting with men's gender, age, race, sexuality and class, and so forth. Ideologies of respectability, morality and reputation were also noted to shape performances of gender. As suggested by Vetten and Ratele (2013), such complex intersections require equally complex and involved engagement with change.

CHAPTER 3: SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS THEORY AND INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

As discussed in the introductory chapter, theorisations about the perpetration of IPV might be themed within four broad areas. However, the interconnections between each of these themes and a thorough investigation of how each theme interacts with the next are difficult to imagine. Subsequently these investigations often occur separately to each other. A theory that might serve to attend to this limitation by showing these interactions is that of social representations theory; which understands the individual and social to be inseparable in understanding social experience (Voelklein & Howarth, 2005). Social representations theory requires that the researcher pays attention to the intra-personal, interpersonal, positional and ideological systems in any analysis and interpretation of meaning-making (Doise, 1986), and has been described by Joffe (1998) as a “valuable framework” (p. 21) for demonstrating how socio-cultural and historical influences impact on individuals.

The aim of this chapter is to explain intimate partner violence through the theoretical lens of social representations theory – the framework for this study. This chapter covers two key areas. The first section reviews the definitions and origins of social representations theory, which will include a review of literature and studies that employ this theory. The second section outlines the basic tenets of the theory in great detail, namely the collective construction of social representations. The theory’s concern with the way in which the public encounter new ideas and events is discussed with reference to two concepts that are central to this cognitive process, namely anchoring and objectification. The third section reviews the relationship between scientific knowledge, the media and common sense, which is considered to be central to the generation of social representations. The fourth section outlines how the theory might be developed to offer a critical analysis of power and transformation and how

feminist poststructuralism, as an additional approach, might assist with attending to the critiques levelled against social representations theory. Throughout this chapter, I aim to demonstrate the benefits of employing a theory of social representations for studies on IPV, which has rarely been considered in social representations literature.

3.1 Social representations theory: Origins and definitions

Social representations theory (SRT), developed by the French social psychologist, Serge Moscovici (1961/2008, 1976), was formally established in the classical study *La psychoanalyses: some images et son public* (translation: Psychoanalysis: Its image and its public). His study aimed to investigate how the theory of psychoanalysis was diffused into French society, alongside Herzlich's (1973) study of social representations of health and illness, which has also been referred to widely in the social representations literature (Harré, 1984; Rätty & Snellman, 1992; Voelklein & Howarth, 2005). These studies have played a crucial role in advancing the theory in the discipline of social psychology. As Moscovici (1976) has argued, "Social psychology is greatly in need of a breath of fresh speculative air" (p. 2). The discipline of social psychology came into being in the United States, during the Second war, and it was during this period of extreme upheaval that social psychologists and other social scientists could demonstrate their usefulness and value (Moscovici & Marková, 2006). However, critiques levelled against the discipline of social psychology emerged in the United States and Europe and ranged from the discipline's distancing from political issues of the day (i.e., the civil rights struggles, anti-Vietnam war in the United States, student and worker uprisings in Europe) to its unquestioned assumptions regarding experimental and scientific methods of understanding the individual (Farr, 1996; Foster, 2004; László, 1997; Moscovici, 1972; Reicher, 1997). The discipline of social psychology has furthermore been

critiqued for its ethnocentrism, for being asocial, for ignoring diversity, different world cultures, and for easing over schisms that disrupt assumptions about sameness (Harré, 1984; Moscovici & Marková, 2006).

The counteraction to dominant US schools of thought, led to alternative and influential social theories of psychology that began to take the “social seriously”; one of these approaches was a theory of social representations (Flick & Foster, 2008, p. 196; Foster, 2004; Råty & Snellman, 1992). It was Moscovici’s (1976) aim to redirect a psychology of social influence from one fixated on social control and authority towards, “a psychology of innovation, of the possibilities of acting on, and in relation to, the group; a psychology which will be thought out and fashioned from the points of view of the minority, the deviant, and of social change” (p. 2).

There has been some diversity amongst scholars in their definitions of social representations (Harré, 1984; Moscovici, 1973, 1988). Howarth (2006) has argued that defining social representations is a challenging task, since some either perceive the phenomenon as too complex or its history as too rich to fully encapsulate in a single definition (Marková, 2000; Moscovici, 1988). Some have argued that a definition is unachievable because the theory lacks clarity or is inconsistent (Billig, 1998; Jahoda, 1988). Despite these critiques, Howarth (2006) argued that clear definitions can be found. For the purposes of the current study, Moscovici’s (1984b) definition of social representations will be adopted, which is described as a:

[S]ystem of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and

a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history.

Moscovici (1984a) also added that the theory could give insight into the following questions: “What goes on in people’s minds when they are faced with life’s great enigmas such as illness, our bodies, our origins, knowledge, death, etc.? How do the systems of social representations [...] come into being and then evolve?” (p. 941). Social representations studies are generally concerned with the investigation of common sense thinking, and how people describe and understand the phenomena they face in the social world (Joffe, 1998). It also theorises about the social construction of knowledge, and the ways in which knowledge is transformed and shared amongst groups of individuals (Flick, 1995; Flick & Foster, 2008; Hogg & Vaughan, 2011; Philogène & Deaux, 2001). Representations are shaped through ‘everyday’, casual conversations eventually becoming unconscious and “unquestioned” forms of understanding the world (Flick & Foster, 2008; Hogg & Vaughan, 2011, p. 102). As Moscovici (1984a) puts it, “representations are the outcome of an unceasing babble and a permanent dialogue between individuals, a dialogue that is both internal and external, during which individual representations are echoed or complimented” (p. 950). SRT also stresses the dialogical interdependence between particular socio-cultural contexts and social representations (Arthi, 2008; Höijer, 2011); social representations are not universal schemas, but rather, group, context and culture specific (Joffe, 1998; Marková, 2008). In opposition to individualist explanations for phenomena, the social representational approach is rooted in the very premise that meaning making does not only come from within individual minds but it is shaped by external, social forces too (Joffe, 1998).

Another issue of definition and conceptualisation has emerged amongst scholars in relation to the 'social' of social representations. Harré (1984) has argued that the 'social' of social representations has not been adequately theorised and explained, even in the work of Moscovici. Joffe (1998) argued that two schools exist which explain what is meant by the term 'social' in social representations. One thread of research conceives of 'social' in terms of sharedness – in other words, a representation is only viewed as social if it is shared by group members (Joffe, 1998). Within this school of thought, much emphasis is placed upon the methodological strategies for quantitatively measuring this consensus in groups (Doise, Clemence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993; Joffe, 1998), with Paez and colleagues' (1991) study being one such example. This perspective closely reflects the attitude tradition of research as it places a focus upon individual differences and similarities (Rose et al., 1995). In contrast, the second perspective on how 'social' ought to be conceived places less emphasis upon measuring consensus in society (Rose et al., 1995). This perspective critiques the first camp's narrow focus on 'sharedness' since its problematic method of understanding consensus in groups may lead to faulty reasoning (Joffe, 1998). Quantitative check-list measures, according to Joffe (1998), are unlikely to penetrate a deeper, unconscious level of thought. For example, some individuals might share and practice a certain representation but they may not be consciously aware of the representation. The second school of thought therefore views social representations as the product of discourse, which produces hegemony and dominance, and distances itself from a pure focus upon individual attitude as prioritised in the former school (Joffe, 1998). The current study is located within the second camp, in that it views social representations as embedded externally in the social, cultural and historical environment, and as a psychological and cognitive entity. This study also seeks to investigate the origins, circulation and transformation of social representations within various knowledge systems, in society, in the media and in groups.

According to Marková (2008), SRT has drawn much attention because of its ability to investigate complex social phenomena. There has been a significant tradition of health and illness research using social representations theory. Some SRT studies have examined issues around HIV/AIDS (Giami & Schiltz, 1996; Joffe, 1995, 1999), health, infectious diseases, disability and mental illness (Arthi, 2008; Barnett & Hammond, 1999; Campbell, 1998; de-Graft Aikins, 2002; Flick, Fischer, Neuber, Schwartz & Walter, 2003; Foster, 2003, 2006; Gervais & Jovchelovitch, 1998; Herzlich, 1973; Herzlich & Pierret, 1987; Jodelet, 1989/1991; Joffe, Washer & Solberg, 2011; Jovchelovitch & Gervais, 1999; Krause, 2002; Morant, 2006; Radley & Billig, 1996; Schmitz, Filipone & Edelman, 2003; Wagner, Duveen, Verma & Themel, 2000), and global warming and climate change (Höijer, 2010; Olausson, 2011; Smith & Joffe, 2009, 2012).

A body of social representations research has also focused upon phenomena prevalent in the societal domain, such as education, gender and bodies, racism, identity construction, community narratives, resistance and change, risk, stigma, and human rights (Andreouli & Howarth, 2012; Campbell & McLean, 2002; Castro & Batel, 2008; Breakwell, 1993, 2001, 2007; Doise et al., 1993; Duveen, 2001; Duveen & Lloyd, 1990; Howarth, 2002a, 2002b; 2004, 2009, 2010, 2011; Howarth, Foster & Dorrer, 2004; Joffe, 1999; Jovchelovitch, 2007, 2011; Lavie-Ajayi & Joffe, 2009; Phelps & Nadim, 2010; Rätty & Snellman, 1998). However, almost no studies to date have exclusively studied social representations of intimate partner violence against women amongst men perpetrators, besides the small collection of media studies (see Lewis, 2007; Lewis & Orderson, 2012; Meyers, 2004) that have investigated the content of representations of gender-based violence. One study by Levin-Rozalis, Bar-On and Hartaf (2003) examined the creation process of social representations amongst abusive men who attended a domestic violence intervention programme in Israel. This particular study did

not examine social representations of other significant groups that the men may have been part of. By neglecting to explore other significant social groups within the violent man's world, Levin-Rozalis and colleagues (2003) may have neglected other social representations of violence, different to that in the intervention programme. The current study aimed to counteract a one-dimensional approach to understanding violent men's realities by examining the social representations of violence shared amongst men's social networks in their communities, and how their various networks may impact on the men's social representation of their own violence. This study also aimed to obtain an understanding of the representations of men's perpetration of violence against women in the South African media.

Studies involving social representations have generally been carried out in Southern European countries, such as France and Italy, as well as in the United Kingdom, South America, Australia and more recently, Asia (Flick, 1995; Joffe, 1998; Marková, 2008). Due to its initial formulation in French, and the delays in translating the original French texts into English (Räty & Snellman, 1992), the theory has been scant in contemporary English texts (Joffe, 1998). Although Moscovici (1987) has described the theory as the "anthropology of modern culture" (p. 514), social representations research has only started emerging in Africa, and South Africa within the context of HIV/AIDS research and masculinities (Campbell, 1998; Joffe, 1995, 1999; Winskell, Obyerodhyambo & Stephenson, 2011). The theory has been described as "modernist" (p. 22), with a specific focus upon the issues of contemporary, Western culture; however Joffe (1998) emphasized that the theory can also be employed in non-Western contexts. This theory was deemed suitable for this South African study on intimate partner violence against women. Given the widespread prevalence of interpersonal violence in the country, it is likely that a dominant social representation of violence against women circulates in society, and that violence is a subject of public discourse and social

thinking (Gibbs & Jobson, 2011). The suitability of the SRT approach for this research in the South African context is two-fold: 1) SRT allows for the complexities of intimate partner violence to be unpacked, and 2) It requires that the social problem of violence against women be investigated within its unique socio-cultural context and within and amongst social groups where meaning-making may occur.

Social representations theory has also been described as a theory of communication in that it connects individuals with society and the media with the public (Hojjer, 2011). The theory holds that communication occurs at three levels. At the societal level, representations are distributed through media communication (Marková, 2003), filtered into institutions, and it becomes part of cultural practices (Farr, 1998). At the community level, people co-generate representations through dialogue and discuss similar or conflicting views (Howarth, 2006; Moscovici, 1984a) and at the individual level, representations develop through internal debate (Billig, 1988; Valsiner, 2003). A deep interplay between these communication processes exists and they serve to link these social systems, allowing for knowledge to overlap into different social spaces (Castro & Batel, 2008). The following sections will review the ways in which the theory does in fact produce and maintain such connections.

3.2 The collective construction of social representations

The theory of social representations is defined by the connection between the “collective and the individual, between the present and the past, and between the known and the unknown” (Hojjer, 2011, p. 6). Social representations and social identities are deeply interlinked (Campbell & McLean, 2002); the process of meaning-making in generating representations involves both the individual and social to varying degrees. The way in which individuals encounter the world are argued by Moscovici (1972) to emerge from relationships between

Ego, Alter and Object; meaning that representations emerge simultaneously through three particular dimensions of the individual, contextual/relational, and institutional/cultural (Castro & Batel, 2008; Jovchelovitch, 2007). In this way, individuals produce both psychological and social representational phenomena (Jovchelovitch, 1996; Marková, 2003; Raudsepp, 2005). Indeed, representations are not newly invented and they are not individual initiatives; rather representing is a social process that is assumed by individuals within a social group whereby pre-existing historically-rooted and shared knowledge is maintained (Moscovici, 1984a, 2001). It is this emphasis upon the convergence of the individual and social that has made the approach suitable for this study, in its attempt to better investigate IPV as a social, cultural and historical event. In particular, this study connects the individual with the community. In making sense of this connection, I am guided by Howarth and colleagues' (2004) conceptualisation of 'community' as the, "socially constructed spaces within which people develop common codes for understanding, confronting and identifying with one another. These codes, or representations, permeate social relationships, cultural practices and power relations." (p. 230).

The theory has a particular concern with the way in which the public, who encounter new ideas and events, are taken up by lay thinkers, and the specific processes whereby such cognitions are shaped (Joffe, 1998). Representations are described as common sense understandings of phenomena, because they adapt the complex and unfamiliar into common sense frameworks for understanding experiences (Hogg & Vaughan, 2011); in other words, representations "clarify the unclear" (Levin-Rozalis et al., 2003, p. 362). Two concepts are central to this cognitive process: *anchoring* and *objectification* (Moscovici, 1984a).

3.2.1 The functions of anchoring and objectification. SRT is ultimately concerned with the conditions under which new threats enter public thought (Joffe, 1998; Moscovici, 1976; Washer & Joffe, 2006). Moscovici (1976) argued that social representations emerge in response to perceived perils to the group identity and it is the purpose of the representation to defend against such threats. A threatening new event will most likely be closely compared to phenomena, such as an epidemic (Joffe, 1998). Threats are made sense of with the use of anchors, in which the unfamiliar is made familiar through categorising and naming the threat (Moscovici, 1984a). *Anchoring* is the process of classifying new phenomena (e.g., relations, experiences, practices) into existing categories, images, and worldviews, to reduce their unfamiliarity (Moscovici, 1984a). Familiar categories are argued to anchor unfamiliar categories (Levin-Rozalis et al., 2003), and new ideas are associated with a well-known phenomenon or context (Hoijer, 2011). Kaës (1984) described the formation of social representations as a defense mechanism because it anchors a social object in a familiar category which ultimately protects the individual from the potentially frightening “shock of the new” (p. 2). Moscovici’s (2008) study, for example, found that people linked the unfamiliar phenomenon of psychoanalysis to the known concept of Catholic confession, and this association served to deconstruct the phenomenon as an enigma. In naming an unknown object, it allows for the phenomenon to be “liberated from secrecy and incomprehensibility” (Hoijer, 2011, p. 7), and allows that abstract issues may be placed into decipherable frames of reference, and located “in the identity matrix of our culture” (Moscovici, 2001, p. 46).

Objectification speaks to the process of creating new social representations, which turns the unfamiliar into a concrete, everyday part of reality i.e., “to transfer what is in the mind to something existing in the physical world” (Hoijer, 2011; Moscovici, 1984b, p. 29). Joffe (1998) noted that the process of objectification has a similar task to that of symbolism,

in which a symbol provides people with the necessary tools to understand abstract content. The cognitive processes complement each other; anchoring starts the process of creating a representation and objectification completes it. According to Moscovici (2001) objectifying is a more dynamic process which requires more effort than anchoring, since anchoring is seen to be a more automatic response to encountering new phenomena. However, the deeper conceptual meanings inherent in both anchoring and objectification have been shown to be powerful in their ability to unravel “hidden levels of the social construction of meaning” (Hoijer, 2011, p. 14).

Threats, however, that are uncategorised and not anchored and objectified are perceived to be “alien, non-existent and at the same time threatening” (p. 2142) for the individual (Washer & Joffe, 2006). Although anchoring has the potential to reduce threats or outlandish ideas, it may too contribute towards intensifying the concern around a particular unexplained phenomenon (e.g., a disease); especially if it is anchored as an epidemic causing high fatality rates (Washer & Joffe, 2006). One example of this threatening form of anchoring was demonstrated in Washer’s (2004) study, in which the media coverage of SARS described the then ‘new’ disease as a Spanish influenza epidemic of the 1918 and the Black Death. Another example is that of the early anchors for ‘mad cow disease’, which were linked to salmonella, the sheep and goat fatal disease of scrapie and AIDS (Washer, 2006). In the case of the current study, although violence against women may not be considered a ‘new’ phenomenon locally and internationally, and therefore, not a new threat, this study advocates nonetheless for the treatment thereof as a ‘new’ social ill, requiring innovative and eclectic research and intervention. The prevalence of intimate partner violence remains high despite intervention efforts to end this violence in South Africa; which points urgently towards new

methods of studying and understanding IPV – one such method being social representations theory and its emphasis upon public thought.

Social representations also make it possible for individuals to classify people and objects, to compare and explain behaviours, and to “objectify them as parts of our social setting” (Moscovici, 1988, p. 214). Consequently, representations of the ‘other’, in terms of other’s representations of the self and the self’s representation of the other, has been a driving force in work on social representations (Joffe, 1995, 1999). Joffe’s (1995, 1998, 1999) work showed the way in which ‘othering’ groups, which are perceived to have incurable diseases such as AIDS may help the in-group achieve a sense of virtue and reassurance. In that way, social representations maintain the status quo in society, making the social world appear more familiar and predictable, yet it also serves to maintain the power of some groups (Joffe, 1998). In maintaining the status quo, representations can exhibit real, material obstacles for social inclusion and exclusion, challenges for employment, education, social and community participation, and access to resources (Campbell & McLean, 2002; Howarth et al., 2004). Moscovici (1976) stated that if the oppressed “remain at the fringes of society, it is precisely because society defines itself in such a way to keep them there” (p. 4). Social identities are indeed shaped by the material and symbolic conditions in which they are forged, limiting the constructions of selves and the possibilities for claiming group membership.

Shared representations furthermore provide solidarity for group members, allowing group members to identify with each other, furthermore setting the in-groups apart from the out-groups (Kaës, 1984). In associating catastrophes with the ‘other’, it serves to draw attention to deviant groups who attempt to escape societal control and builds community within the in-group (Moscovici, 1976). As argued by Joffe (1998), “The deviant ‘other’ is needed to define the upright, righteous ‘self’” (p. 29). The power of representations in

defining groups of people should not be underestimated (Moscovici, 1988), however, Campbell and McLean (2002) suggested that more work remains to be done into how some representations may reproduce power relations, and the way in which the in-group and out-group are modeled and confined by social and historical factors. Campbell and Mclean's (2002) concerns, amongst others, will be dealt with in the final section of this chapter. The current study's findings point to the presence of stereotypical representations that are deeply implicated in the perpetuation of social, symbolic, and material exclusion. This study has the potential to contribute towards an understanding of the reproduction and reification of power relations involved in the representations of violence against women.

The theoretical paradigm of social representations also considers science to be central in the generation of representations, while the media is considered to be the intercessor between scientific ideas and lay thinking (Joffe, 1998). This relationship between scientific knowledge, the media and common sense is discussed in the next section.

3.3 Scientific knowledge, the media and common sense

Moscovici's (2008) interest in social representations began with his investigations into psychoanalytic thinking in the media in French society, and the way in which this knowledge was transformed into common sense representations. Moscovici (1988) distinguished between scientific knowledge and that of the 'common sense' of the public and contended that media messages have to be altered and reshaped to be accessible to a larger audience. However, the process of altering knowledge to be understood by the masses is often associated with the "betrayal of science" – a misunderstanding about public knowledge that urged Moscovici to emphasise the link between scientific knowledge and the generation of social representations (Moscovici, 1988, p. 217). The communication of expert knowledge to

lay thinkers is central to the theory; however, experts are not limited to scientists, per se, but they include those who are considered experts in particular cultures and social settings (Joffe, 1998). In the context of violence against women, feminist scholars might be considered an integral source of expert knowledge worldwide, and this study's findings highlight the ways in which social representations may have reflected some of these dominant feminist discourses of gender and IPV.

The one-directional relationship between so-called 'lay' and 'expert' forms of knowledge has, however, generated some concern regarding its potential to create a hierarchy of knowledge and validate one version above another (Howarth et al., 2004). For Moscovici (1984b), common sense is science made common, meaning that science is not only a crucial part of social representations but it also suggests a certain order of knowledge. Foster's (2003) research, for example, explored the ways in which clients of mental health services understand mental health problems, and their interactions with these health services. Much like Foucault's (1972, 1980, 1982) 'subjugated' knowledge, it was found that clients' views might have been regarded as inferior to those of professionals or the general public (Foster, 2003), thereby reinforcing this ranked knowledge, with experts' views representing superiority. Dorrer (2002), cited in Howarth and colleagues (2004), also found that health discourses and 'expert' representations of the body play an important part in reinforcing stigmatised images of the 'ill', the 'obese' or the 'underweight', thereby emphasising the power expert representations may hold. In Andreouli and Howarth's (2012) study on national identity, citizenship and immigration, it was found that policy documents and interviews with citizens echoed representations of elite and non-elite migrants, demonstrating that expert and lay spheres of knowledge are not disconnected but rather overlap in how they manage 'otherness'. Indeed, the 'reified' sphere of expert knowledge and the knowledge within the

‘consensual’ common-sense sphere ought to be viewed in their potential to overlap (Andreouli & Howarth, 2012).

The notion of scientific superiority may stem from Moscovici (1984b) and some of his followers who have argued that scientific thinking relies on logic, proof, objectivity, and falsification, which is thought to stand in opposition to lay thinking. However, some scholars have found that the form of thinking that may occur in scientific circles are similar to those found within the public, particularly in their assimilation of new phenomena (Joffe, 1998). Some have found that medical debates are embedded in ‘us’ versus ‘them’ reasoning and this ‘othering’ has also been highlighted in everyday forms of thought (Herzlich & Pierret, 1987). This form of value-laden ‘us’ versus ‘them’ scientific thinking has also been prevalent in theories of gender. As discussed in the previous chapter, earlier essentialist and biologist theories of gender also formulated distinct polarities between men and women, resulting in women being categorized as inferior to men. Indeed, such knowledge hierarchies – whether generated via expert or lay thinking – ought to be dismantled through critical reflections on how knowledge systems might be legitimised. This study adopted feminist poststructuralist inquiry, as an additional approach, to achieve such a critical analysis of power, which is discussed in the final section of this chapter.

3.3.1 Social representations theory and the media. The production of knowledge is also intercepted by the media; Washer and Joffe (2006) have argued that SRT allows the researcher to track the production of knowledge from scientific thinking, via the mass media, to the thinking taken up by the public. An institution most commonly researched in social representations studies is that of the media, which is considered to play a crucial part in the fruition of public thinking (Gibbs & Jobson, 2011; Hoijer, 2011; Joffe, 1995, 1998; Portilla,

2008; Ryan et al., 2006; Washer & Joffe, 2006; Wasserman, 2003). In advocating for the theory's relevance in media and communication studies, Hoijer (2011) reasoned that the theory's ability to tackle issues of how knowledge is transformed into 'common sense' is central to the media's naturalising effect on social thinking. A series of empirical studies utilising SRT have shed some light upon the way in which the mass media might play a role in shaping public thinking on particular matters, such as studies on biotechnology and genetically modified food (Bauer, 2002; Gaskell et al., 2004); climate change (Hoijer, 2010; Olausson, 2011; Smith & Joffe, 2009); mental illness (Krause, 2002; Schmitz et al., 2003); female orgasms (Lavie-Ajayi & Joffe, 2009); and infectious diseases, such as AIDS (Joffe, 1999), Ebola (Joffe & Haarhoff, 2002), SARS (Washer, 2004), and 'mad cow disease' (Washer, 2006). In Joffe's (1995, 1999) study, it was shown how the mass-mediated AIDS campaigns responded to existing discourses of health as well as set the terms for future discourses.

A wide array of studies have paid particular attention to the social representations that surface in newspapers and tabloids, which have been predominantly sampled from the British press (Bauer, 2002; Foster, 2006; Joffe & Haarhoff, 2002; Smith & Joffe, 2009; Washer, 2004, 2006; Washer & Joffe, 2006). Social representation scholars who have sampled from both tabloids and newspapers have emphasised differences between the social representations that have emerged from these media sources (Foster, 2006; Joffe & Haarhoff, 2002). In Joffe and Haarhoff's (2002) study – which investigated the way in which British broadsheets, tabloids and their readers, made sense of the outbreaks of the Ebola virus in Africa in the mid-1990s – it was found that essentialist representations emerged prominently in tabloids. Tabloids and their readers tended to essentialise Ebola as an African phenomenon, depicting such diseases as wholeheartedly African, rather than as a phenomenon that could also occur

in Western contexts. This form of ‘othering’ was argued by Joffe and Haarhoff (2002) to be a mechanism whereby Westerners considered themselves to be protected from such disasters. Such harming representations were also present in the tabloids sampled in Foster’s (2006) study, which investigated the representations of the Mental Health Bill in English, Welsh and Northern Irish national and international newspapers. It was found that tabloid articles had a tendency to reinforce harmful and stigmatising representations of mental health clients, more so than in the other newspapers. More so, the depth of information on the Bill was more likely to be found in broadsheets, rather than in tabloids, whilst tabloids were more likely to produce shorter articles about the “locking up” of “psychos” (Foster, 2006, p. 291). The British media has long been accused of reinforcing the link between mental health problems and violent crime, and Foster (2006) found this to be a continuing theme in her sample of both tabloids and broadsheets. The findings in Joffe and Haarhoff (2002) and Foster’s (2006) studies contribute towards the ongoing debate about the tabloid press, associated with concerns about journalistic standards, media ethics, and the tabloidisation of the media (Morna & Ndlovu, 2007; Strelitz & Steenveld, 2005). However, similarly to all forms of media, the meaning behind tabloids, and the way it is received by audiences varies across contexts, and therefore requires an investigation which is sensitive to its social, cultural and historical setting (Morna & Ndlovu, 2007; Örnebring, 2008).

The tabloid emerged almost a decade after South Africa’s democracy and this cultural phenomenon has been argued to have gained significant popularity and success, creating a “newspaper revolution” in South Africa (Steenveld, 2004; Wasserman, 2008, p. 786). The phrase tabloidization of the media has encompassed this local and international trend, indicating the significant increase in tabloid-style journalism in mainstream media (Morna & Ndlovu, 2007). Similar to the function of the British tabloid (Joffe & Haarhoff, 2002),

Wasserman (2008, 2010) argued that South African tabloids have given voice to a segment of the population who find themselves on the periphery of the post-apartheid public sphere, indicating that the media can too be a space for social agency (Steenveld, 2004; Strelitz & Steenveld, 2005). Mainstream broadsheets were argued to have neglected a segment of the potential market for print media, which the tabloid press was argued to address (Wasserman, 2008). Even with the changes in staff and editors to reflect racial ‘equity’ post-1994 (Steenveld, 2004), mainstream broadsheet newspapers continued to favour the white and black middle class in their news values, and continued to report on beliefs, values and norms “from an elite perspective” (Wasserman, 2008, p. 788). In contrast, tabloids reported on issues from the perspective of those that encounter such phenomena on a daily basis (Wasserman, 2008). Tabloids have been argued to represent the failures of the State, political action, and mainstream forms of media in attending to the concerns of the disenfranchised public (Örnebring & Jönsson, 2004). They also serve to increase accessibility by publishing in the languages of the target audience, and adopting a more conversational tone and egalitarian stance between journalists and readers (Morna & Ndlovu, 2007; Mabweazara & Strelitz, 2009; Steenveld, 2004; Strelitz & Steenveld, 2005).

Theorists have, however, expressed mixed reviews about the tabloid press in Africa, and internationally (Lewis & Orderson, 2012; Mabweazara & Strelitz, 2009; Wasserman, 2006, 2010). Familiar criticisms offered by scholars is that this form of ‘news’ has become associated with entertainment (or “infotainment”, as termed by Steenveld, 2004, p. 105), vulgarity, gossip with little political engagement and “serious news” (Curran & Seaton, 2003; Grisprud, 1992; Lewis & Orderson, 2012; Morna & Ndlovu, 2007; Örnebring & Jönsson, 2004; Wasserman, 2008, 2010, p. 12). Objectivity, neutrality and so-called ‘truth-telling’ that are assumed to be associated with journalism, are argued to be set aside by the tabloids’ over-

exaggerated stories, their interest in sex and the objectification of women who are published half-nude or skimpily clothed (Lewis & Orderson, 2012; Wasserman, 2008). South African organisations such as the professional journalist organisation (Sanef), media monitoring groups (e.g. Media Monitoring Africa and Genderlinks), and media and communication scholars have predominantly led these criticisms, arguing that the tabloid undermines the goals of the new democracy (Wasserman, 2008). More so, Lewis and Orderson (2012) have argued that gender justice, individuals' bodily integrity, and respect for groups' rights to privacy may be compromised in tabloids.

Counter-arguments have, however, been offered by cultural studies scholars such as Fiske (1989) and Bird (1992) who not only argue that tabloids provide a voice for the disenfranchised but they also serve as a space for resisting cultural hegemony. Tabloids have also been argued to allow readers a public space to convey their lived social, political and economic realities, and in so doing, have been shown to pertain to readers' emotions (Mabweazara & Strelitz, 2009). Emotions (e.g., threats, fear of danger) have been noted earlier in this chapter as one of the ways in which social representations might be anchored (Hoijer, 2011); however, the notion of emotional anchoring has not received significant attention (Joffe, 1998, 2002). Emotional anchoring may be referred to as "a communicative process by which a new phenomenon is fastened to well-known emotions" (Hoijer, p. 9) and "(i)t is emotion that motivates the formation of particular SRs [social representations]" (Joffe, 2002; pp. 568 – 569). The media has been argued to anchor social phenomena in emotions of fear, anger, empathy, sympathy, to name a few (Hoijer, 2011); a view that has been echoed in a recent study by Lewis and Orderson (2012). In Lewis and Orderson's (2012) study, it was argued that the South African tabloid, *The Daily Voice*⁸, represented the serious phenomenon

⁸ An English and Afrikaans language tabloid, launched in 2005 (Wasserman, 2008).

of violence against women as a form of entertainment – a mechanism intentionally employed to shock readers. It is in the context of Lewis and Orderson's (2012) findings that this study argues for the need to pay particular attention to the emotional anchoring of representations of IPV in South African newspapers – an area of research demanding stronger emphasis and consideration in SRT (Hoijer, 2011). Andreouli and Howarth (2012) have also made a case for conducting an analysis of both institutionalised and lay discourses of phenomena, rather than making assumptions about the distribution of knowledge from one sphere to another. The current study acknowledges Andreouli and Howarth's (2012) argument, and examines media and lay re-presentations of violence against women, since these forms of knowledge are mutually sustainable, and not distinct. More so, empirical studies on the tabloid media on IPV in Southern Africa are growing, and the current study's investigations into the printed media contributes towards this research base, and takes consideration of the way in which social representations of IPV are anchored in a sample of newspapers – one of them being the *Daily Voice* tabloid.

Although social representations theory has the potential to play a crucial role in advancing studies on violence against women, it is, however, best described as a “theory still in development” (Howarth et al., 2004, p. 239; Valsiner, 2003). Its various limitations have also been a cause for concern amongst many theorists, which will be assessed and debated in the next section.

3.4 Towards a critical theory of social representations and social change

The discipline of social psychology is largely defined by its ability to stay relevant to larger societal problems that concern and consume the lives of civilians (Bar-Tal, 2000). As a theory emerging out of social psychology, Howarth (2006) argued that social representations

theory then ought to be defined by its contributions to social knowledge and change; meaning that “one would hope to find a social psychology of power at the heart of social representations theory” (p. 72). Although social change is a central tenet of SRT, it may not have been adequately studied within the social representations field. Furthermore, in spite of Moscovici’s (1993) general writings about power, critics of this theory – especially within the context of British social psychology – point to serious claims that the theory lacks conceptualisation of the relationship between representations, and social practices and power (Voelklein & Howarth, 2005). Although social representations theorists, such as Jovchelovitch (1996), have attempted to address the role of power in the process and practice of social representation, critics still hold that the role of power is not made sufficiently explicit in the theory.

Certain aspects of the theory may need to be developed in order for it to successfully become a critical investigation of power and resistance in social psychology (Howarth, 2006). Additional approaches might also be paired with SRT to provide an enhanced description of the cognitive processes outlined in the theory, and such approaches should speak to a relationship between representations, and social practices and power (Howarth, 2006; László, 1997). Some theorists have explored the links between social representations theory and other social psychological approaches. Augoustinos (1998, 2001) and Augoustinos and Innes (1990), for example, explored the theoretical connections between social representations, and social schema theory, ideology and discursive approaches, respectively; alongside Potter and Edwards (1999) who also explored the theory’s links with discursive psychology. Billig (1985, 1987, 1993) investigated the theory’s relations with the rhetoric approach, while Duveen and Lloyd (1993) examined the pairing of SRT with ethnographic research. The critiques of SRT are acknowledged in this study and thus an additional approach, namely

feminist poststructuralism – which is also aligned to social constructionist thought – was adopted due to its ability to add value, depth and richness to the theory of social representations.

Poststructuralism emerged as a critique of western modernist and ‘structural’ thinking, which theorised about subjectivity⁹ as if it were fixed, rational, unitary and objective (Culler, 1982; de la Rey, 1997; Poster, 1989). As noted by Culler (1982), “structuralists are convinced that systematic knowledge is possible; post-structuralists claim to know only the impossibility of this knowledge” (p. 22). Poststructuralist theory also critiques approaches that seek to understand “a world outside of language” (p. 6) and assumptions that individuals can experience themselves outside of language (Burman & Parker, 1993). Weedon (1987) and Gavey (1989) argued that poststructuralist theory has been shaped by political agendas such as the Women’s Liberation Movement as well as theoretical influences from Marxism (particularly Althusser’s theory of ideology), feminism and psychoanalysis. Different forms of poststructuralism however theorise about the production of meaning in different ways (Weedon, 1987). For example, psychoanalytic-inspired poststructuralism theorises about a fixed psycho-sexual order; deconstruction locates the discursive context within the relationship between different texts; and Foucauldian theory, which is largely adopted by feminist poststructuralism, focuses upon language, historical discursive relations and social practice (Weedon, 1987). The present study considered feminist poststructuralism to be most fitting due to its ability to attend to the theoretical concerns about social power, how power is exercised, and how social relations of gender, class and race might be transformed. The section to follow will begin by outlining the basic tenets of feminist poststructuralism, and will draw the theoretical links between both

⁹ Subjectivity refers to the “conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world” (Weedon, 1987, p. 32).

approaches. Thereafter, a more detailed discussion will emerge on how feminist poststructuralism might be employed to address some of the shortcomings of SRT.

3.4.1 SRT and feminist poststructuralism: Drawing theoretical links. Feminist poststructuralism is described by Weedon (1987) as a “mode of knowledge production which uses poststructuralist theories of language, subjectivity, social processes and institutions to understand existing power relations and to identify areas and strategies for change” (pp. 40 – 41). Feminist poststructuralism emerged as a response to feminist initiatives in psychology that were related to dominant positivist research traditions practiced in mainstream psychology (Gavey, 1989). Such feminist scholarship was argued to share mainstream psychology’s humanist assumptions, in which women’s ‘experience’ was implicitly regarded as universal and language was considered to be a true reflection of experience (Gavey, 1989). It is unrefuted that the feminist emphasis upon women’s experiences has been a valuable political strategy, which has privileged women’s voices of oppression and resistance within the patriarchal order (Gavey, 1989). However, feminist theorising that points to fixed identities may pose less far-reaching challenges to patriarchal discourse and may move “parallel to hegemonic discourse” (Kristeva, 1981; Weedon, 1987, p. 110). The goals of feminist poststructuralism are instead to develop scholarship that is committed to changing oppressive gender relations, to explain the workings of power, and is concerned with disrupting oppressive ‘knowledges’ (Gavey, 1989; Weedon; 1987). Some have even considered feminist poststructuralist theory to be a ‘third generation’ of feminism in Europe, moving in parallel existence and not replacing, liberal and radical feminism (Kristeva, 1981). It is a theory that deconstructs the humanist idea of the rational ‘subject’ (Weedon, 1987) and

understands subjectivity and consciousness as being produced through language, struggle and as a site for potential change (Davies & Gannon, 2005).

Feminist poststructuralism is largely influenced by Foucauldian theory in that language is always located in discourse and constitutes subjectivity (Gavey, 1989; Weedon, 1987). The subject is conceptualised as a position within a particular discourse produced by power-knowledge relations (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn & Walkerdine, 1984). It is argued that through this perspective, reality, behaviour and subjectivity are always present in texts, making the deconstruction of taken-for-granted ‘truths’ key for feminist poststructuralists (Burman & Parker, 1993; Davies & Gannon, 2005). The notion of multiple truths, meanings and “plural interpretations” is also central to feminist poststructuralist theory (de la Rey, 1997; Gavey, 1989; Henriques et al., 1984; Poster, 1989; Søndergaard, 2002; Weedon, 1987, p. 12). Language serves to construct individual subjectivity in socially specific ways, with the understanding of subjectivity as fluid, rather than cohesive or static (Weedon, 1987). Therefore, poststructuralist theory denies the existence of an essential male or female ‘nature’ (Davies & Gannon, 2005; Gavey, 1989).

In much the same way as feminist poststructuralist theory conceives of subjectivity as contradictory and incoherent, representations are too considered to be illogical and at times expressed as disjointed and fragmented ideas¹⁰ (Moscovici, 2008). Representations are not static prototypes that are cognitively called upon (Howarth, 2006). Although social

¹⁰ The theoretical framework adopted by the current study requires awareness that naming may serve to ‘fix’ subjectivity. The use of the terms *victim* and *perpetrator* have been critiqued, particularly from the poststructuralist perspective, for their restricting categories, limiting the individual to a single aspect of their identity and limiting the possibility of mutual violence in which an individual could shift between those positions (McHugh et al., 2005). These terms are indeed not static and not easily distinguishable (Boonzaier, 2008). In addition the term ‘victim’ may confine women to helpless and victimising subjectivities (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2003). In a similar fashion, the naming of men as ‘violent’ also draws attention to one aspect of their identity, possibly disregarding other identities that may have been more salient for the men (and women), as noted in Boonzaier’s (2008) study. Therefore, this study acknowledges these debates, and the terms ‘victim’, ‘perpetrator’ or ‘violent men’ will be employed with inverted commas.

representations have been categorised according to hegemonic representations¹¹, emancipated representations¹² and polemic representations¹³ (Moscovici, 1988); I concur with Hoijer (2011) that these neatly situated categories may not be entirely reflective of social thinking, which is often complex and varied. Social representation theorists refer to the term *cognitive polyphasia* to acknowledge the hybrid aspects of social knowledge, which may exist in the same socio-cultural context, the same social group or individual, and how these modes of knowledge are called upon by individuals depending on time and space (de-Graft Aikins, 2002; Gervais & Jovchelovitch, 1998; Voelklein & Howarth, 2005; Wagner et al., 2000). It is this very understanding of a plurality of systems of knowledge and their coexistence that should allow social representations to explain notions of change and stability in societies (Castro & Batel, 2008).

There is also consensus between SRT and feminist poststructuralism in terms of their recognition of the psychological, sociocultural, material and historical practices that serve to shape bodies and the phenomenon under investigation. Feminist poststructuralism furthermore places an emphasis upon material forms of power (e.g., social, economic, and cultural settings) and the need for change at this level of discourse (Weedon, 1987). Some scholars, such as Erasmus (2001), have voiced their concerns with reducing identity to multiplicity without incorporating analyses that lend themselves to politics. Phenomena cannot be investigated as though they were “uninfected by culture” (Søndergaard, 2002, p. 189) and it is thus the crux of poststructuralist theory to acknowledge the interplay between

¹¹ Hegemonic representations are referred to as dominant, un-wavering and uniformly shared representations by particular groups or communities (Moscovici 1988).

¹² Emancipated representations refer to those subgroups that generate their own representation, meaning that these individuals possibly exercise a certain degree of autonomy compared to those subscribing to hegemonic representations (Moscovici 1988). Washer and Joffe’s (2006) study unravelled an example of emancipated representations of health and illness in which traditional and alternative medicine was favoured above mainstream Western forms of medicine.

¹³ Polemic representations are described as significantly related to social or political conflicts, and struggles between groups, and within a society with the likely outcome of antipathy and hostility (Moscovici 1988).

“the individual and social, the psychological and the political, the external and the internal” (de la Rey, 1997, p. 8). This study also acknowledges that in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, the fluidity of identity needs to be paired with an historical investigation into the past, and ‘new’ representations of ‘race’ and class (Erasmus, 2001) – an analysis that will be guided with the study’s theoretical approaches.

Feminist poststructuralism also serves to compliment SRT by attending to areas that are in need of development. Howarth (2006) suggested that the following aspects of social representations theory need to be developed: (1) the relationship between psychological processes and social practices (2) the reification and legitimisation of different knowledge systems (3) agency and resistance in the co-construction of self-identity (p. 72). Using Howarth’s (2006) three points as a guideline, the following section will speak to some of the debates arising in scholarship on these issues, as well as how they might be resolved through critical reflections offered by the feminist poststructuralist approach.

3.4.1.1 Reinforcing the links between psychological processes and social practices.

Much debate has been generated – particularly from the discourse analytic perspective – over whether social representations can prompt or influence action, and whether they are mere cognitive phenomena (Marková, 2000; McKinlay, Potter & Wetherell, 1993; Potter & Edwards, 1999). The difference between mentioning and using a representation has also been a subject of concern amongst theorists, such as, Potter and Litton (1985) and Potter and Wetherell (1987); however the issue of theorists as neglecting the issue of practice has been argued by Howarth (2006) as “somewhat overstated” (p. 68). Some scholars have made the practice of representation central to their research and have illustrated that social representations are contained within and developed through our social practices, indicating

that it goes far beyond the cognitive (Giami & Schiltz, 1996; Howarth et al., 2004; Joffe, 1995; Marková, 2000; Moscovici, 1988; Voelklein & Howarth, 2005). For example, in Giami and Schiltz's (1996) study, it was found that when people held a social representation that categorised a partner as 'good' (that is, one that is loved long-term, from the same social network, pleasant appearance), safer sex was not practiced consistently. Safer sex or no sex was more commonly practiced if partners were represented as 'bad'. Studies such as Giami and Schiltz's (1996) one demonstrates the activity of practicing social representations, and may indicate social representations are best understood within the context of their consequences. As Howarth (2006) sums it up: "we take on 'presentations' and re-present¹⁴ them" (p. 69). It is this aspect of social representation that requires researchers to pay equal attention to the content of representation and the process of representing (Moscovici, 1984b). By asking about the 'what' and 'how' of representing, the present study's research question considers the content and process behind representing.

It also is a feature of social representations studies to investigate the connections and disruptions between current and past representations, and the way in which the practice of social representing involves "guiding ourselves towards futures" (Joffe, 1998; Valsiner, 2003, p. 7.2). The process of re-presenting is defined by the relationships between the past and the present:

In many respects, the past is more real than the present. The peculiar power and clarity of representations - that is of social representations - derives from the success

¹⁴ Scholars such as Howarth (2006) and Valsiner (2003) hyphenate 're-presentations' in order to emphasise the way in which representations are constantly re-interpreted, re-thought and re-presented in practice. The current study similarly acknowledges these arguments and references 're-presentations' to accentuate this notion of social practice.

with which they control the reality of today through that of yesterday. (Moscovici, 1984b, p.10)

The historical context within which social representations are forged is thus of utmost importance in defining representations of the present. As noted in the introductory chapter, social representations of violence against women have been transformed by voices in the media, the legal sphere and the women's movement, to name a few. Feminists shifted attention from representations of privacy towards an emphasis upon male power and control and systems that reinforce patriarchy; yet literature still points to men's talk of privacy and domination over women as a justification for men's perpetration of partner violence. Indeed, social representations of the past are recurrent and may define representations of the present; furthermore demonstrating the importance of understanding re-presentation as practice. As Moscovici and Marková (1998, p. 394) explained, "Whenever I have talked about social representations, my interest *has always been in them in the making*, not as already made. I would say it is essential that we study them in the making, both historically and developmentally".

Indeed, the theory does refer to implicit links between psychological processes and practices; however, the current study noted that based upon these criticisms, there is a need to emphasise these links and make them more explicit. To this end, the feminist poststructuralist approach is employed to enhance the discursive analysis of re-presentation as a practice. Poststructuralist discourse allows researchers to explore the composition of social practices and cultural patterns (Søndergaard, 2002). Discourse is "action-orientated [...] designed to do particular jobs" (McKinlay et al., 1993, p. 140) and consequently discourse analysts have primarily examined the ways in which representations are constructed and how they may be

oriented towards action (Potter & Edwards, 1999). The tools of the discursive approach may assist in unravelling the ways in which participants position themselves in relation to representations of intimate partner violence as well as the actions that may be achieved through these subjectivities.

3.4.1.2 *The reification and legitimisation of different knowledge systems.* Another aspect of SRT that might obstruct a thorough power analysis is a lack of examination into how different knowledge systems become legitimised, and how these knowledge systems compete over meaning (Howarth, 2006; Moloney & Walker, 2002, Wagner et al., 1999). More importantly, the discursive practices that assist in reifying the taken-for-granted social order, as well as systems of power and oppression are central in analyses of ‘violent’ men’s talk about their intimate women partners (LeCouteur & Oxlad, 2011), and therefore require a thorough investigation in the current study. As noted earlier in this chapter, Howarth (2006) argued that the role of power in the legitimisation of ‘expert’ knowledge systems appears to be absent in Moscovici’s account. In contrast, feminist poststructuralist inquiry argues that the discourse of traditional science is considered to be one of many ‘knowledges’ and is not more or less valid as a source of ‘truth’ than any other discursive practices (Gavey, 1989). Feminist poststructuralist accounts of power give support to Foucault’s (1980, 1982) description of dominant and subjugated knowledge, and it is postulated that those who have the power to regulate what ought to be considered as ‘truth’ are able to preserve their access to material resources and power (Gavey, 1989). These poststructuralist assumptions regarding knowledge and power may also assist social representations theorists in explaining the resistance and mistrust civilians may experience with ‘experts’ or outsiders (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). A more critical analysis of scientific and expert knowledge, offered by

the feminist poststructuralist approach, is required in order to scrutinise “whose interests are at stake in the reification of such claims to authority or truth” (Howarth, 2006, p. 75) as all knowledge (including science) is swayed by social re-presentation.

Similar to the work of Foster (2003) and Howarth and colleagues (2004), this study makes a case to dismantle such hierarchies of knowledge. As Harré (1984) argued, “in comparing scientists and layfolk we must ask not how do their individual minds differ (probably not at all in cognitive capacity) but how do the social conventions which govern their explanatory and justificatory discourses differ” (p. 932). The current study also aims to deconstruct the power hierarchy of knowledge that Littlewood and Lipsedge (1989) and Wagner and colleagues (2000) argued might be found within communities that are considered to carry ‘traditional’ beliefs as opposed to the representations that are prevalent in ‘modern’ contexts. This debate has been particularly pronounced in the field of masculinities in the South African context in which Ratele (2013a) critiqued South African researchers’ careless use of ‘tradition’ and ‘traditional masculinity’ since they may reinforce “the homogenization and retribalisation of African [...] tradition and culture” (p. 1). Morrell (1998a) contended that traditional masculinity in Southern African studies ought to be theorised as being enmeshed within Westernised masculinities. Tradition does not necessarily have to be juxtaposed against modernity; in fact practices from both these spheres might work together rather than be on opposite ends of the continuum (Ratele, 2013a). Therefore, so-called ‘traditional’ and ‘modern representations’, which might seem contrary and may be formulated within a power hierarchy of knowledge, may coexist and live side by side rather than be mutually exclusive. Different knowledge systems can co-exist and may be drawn upon to varying degrees by community members (Gervais & Jovchelovitch, 1998; Jovchelovitch & Gervais, 1999; Wagner et al., 2000).

Howarth (2006) has furthermore contended that the dynamics behind inflicting one's own representations onto others, and marginalising or excluding oppositional representations do require more consideration in the field of social representations. Both social representations theory and feminist poststructuralist thought share a focus upon social categories and exclusion, particularly through the binary 'other'. In following Foucault's (1977, 1980) understanding of power, Butler's (1992, 1997) notion of 'subjection' – which refers to the process of becoming a subject and the process of becoming subordinated by power – is central to the poststructuralist approach in that it highlights the way in which subjects emerge through discursive power. Poststructuralist theory also makes discursive practices of inclusion and exclusion visible (Davies & Gannon, 2005; Søndergaard, 2002), and the way in which subjectivity is produced through discursive practices and as “an effect of ideology¹⁵” (Weedon, 1987, p. 30). Language and social practice have also been described as “*the* location of ideology” (Augoustinos, 1998, p. 166; Belsey, 1980), which according to poststructuralism, reflects a “theory of language in general” (Weedon, 1987, p. 31). In the context of SRT, practices of exclusion and inclusion may then also emerge more clearly when viewing social re-presentation as an ideological practice.

Augoustinos (1998), Fiske (1996), Hall (1997) and Oktar (2001), amongst other theorists, have drawn the theoretical links between the concepts of ideology and social representations. Although the social representations have been described as internalised knowledge and as “cognitive structures or grids” (Potter & Edwards, 1999, p. 449), Augoustinos (1998) argued that such knowledge may have substantial meaning for the dominant beliefs circulating in society, and may function similarly to ideology. According to Oktar (2001) “ideologies are representations of who we are, what we stand for, what our

¹⁵ A critical approach view ideology as “the means by which relations of power, control and dominance are maintained and preserved within society” (Augoustinos, 1998, p. 159).

values are and what our relationships with others are” (p. 314). Gramsci’s (1971) work on ideology also served to illustrate that ideology held much power in establishing common-sense knowledge and making sense of people’s everyday lived experiences; a similar function shared by social representations (Moscovici, 1984a). In particular, the ideological practice of re-presenting known as ‘stereotyping’ is one such practice that serves to reduce people to fixed characteristics as well as exclude, other and maintain the discrimination and oppression of particular groups (Hall, 1997). By obtaining a much-needed ideological and poststructuralist grasp of social representations, this may assist with a greater understanding of the way in which representations might naturalise certain processes of ‘othering’ whilst challenge others (Howarth, 2006; Voelklein & Howarth, 2005).

3.4.1.3 Agency and resistance in the co-construction of self-identity. The third aspect of this power debate revolves around agency and resistance in the co-construction of identity (Howarth, 2006). Although Moscovici (in discussion with Marková, 1998) highlighted that re-presentation involves both conflict and cooperation, theorists have critiqued social representations research for underplaying the impact of conflict in social psychological phenomena, whilst failing to acknowledge that representations “can provide an arena for dispute” (Billig, 1998; Potter & Billig, 1992, p. 18). Howarth (2006) suggested that it is this very interaction between conflict and cooperation that distinguishes social representations from Durkheim’s (1898) notion of ‘collective’ representations. Collective representations are conceptualised as ‘social facts’, static and equal in their effects across groups; which, according to Moloney and Walker (2002) suggests immobility and a lack of change. In contemporary society, however, such uniform representations are unlikely since competing knowledge systems allow for more critique and debate (Billig, 1987). The idea of

dynamic and fluid representations forms the crux of ‘social re-presentations’ (Moloney & Walker, 2002) and its ability to operate within fields of dispute and conflict sets it apart from collective representations. Therefore, Howarth (2006) advocated for studies that highlight the role of conflict and dispute in social re-presentation. Billig (1988) also promoted the reconceptualisation of Moscovici’s ‘thinking society’ into that of an ‘arguing society’, in order to ensure that “the voices of dispute and controversy are heard in the endless babble” of social representations (Moloney & Walker, 2002, p.314).

As noted by Foster (2006) individuals and social groups actively make meaning of phenomena, rather than showing passive acceptance of ideas. Lay thinkers should not be perceived as ‘victims’ of dominant ideas, as noted in Joffe’s (1995) study, in which gay men managed their ‘spoiled’ identities by resisting or reformulating conspiracy theories that blame gay men for the origins and spread of HIV/AIDS. Subjects must be seen as positioned in relation to certain discourses of tradition, being able to resist, reproduce or re-present traditions made available to them (Ratele, 2013a). In order to emphasise the active discrimination of audiences who are able to forge their own representations, Joffe (1998, p. 24) utilised the term “lay thinker” rather than “lay person” as the latter has a tendency to categorise lay people as passive recipients of information from experts and the mass media. This study agrees with Joffe’s (1998) use of the term ‘lay thinker’ in that its larger task is to deconstruct systems of knowledge and power that are operating in society.

Another way in which to enhance an analysis of agency and resistance is to compliment SRT with the feminist poststructuralist approach. A key focus of the approach is upon how discursive boundaries are challenged, reassessed and renegotiated and is central to thinking about change and agency (Davies & Gannon, 2005; Søndergaard, 2002). Individuals are seen as active, rather than passive, when positioning themselves in relation to various

discourses (Gavey, 1989) and language is seen as a “site of political struggle” (Weedon, 1987, p. 23). It addresses issues of social organisation and the social meanings that either reinforce or challenge the social order (Weedon, 1987), and offers “promising ways of theorising about change” (Gavey, 1989, p. 472). In combining SRT and the feminist poststructuralist approach, they may work to destabilise what has become regarded as ‘natural’ and ‘taken for granted’, and might critique discourses and narratives that “silently require us to create ourselves and each other” (Søndergaard, 2002, p. 191).

3.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the origins of social representations theory, alongside the definition of the concept of social representations and the purpose this phenomenon serves. The role of the individual and social in the development of representations were also explored in relation to the primary processes of anchoring and objectification, followed by a discussion about the formation of social knowledge by speaking to scholarly thinking, public knowledge and the media. More importantly, this chapter has shown that social representations theory has the potential to make a significant contribution to the field of violence against women. The theory moves beyond an exclusive focus upon individual cognition, and emphasises the social features of meaning making, which serves a key role in advancing studies on violence against women. The theory also allows for an added focus upon historical and socio-cultural forces which may offer insight into how some representations are reproduced while others are resisted. This chapter also examined how SRT might be developed to reach a critical analysis of power and transformation through the addition of a feminist poststructuralist approach.

CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH DESIGN, STUDY METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The first section of the chapter sketches the rationale behind employing a qualitative approach to researching representations of violence against women amongst men, their networks and in newspaper reports. Following this rationale is a synopsis of how qualitative research emerged within the discipline of psychology. The second section reports on the research procedures which include: the description of the study contexts, the sample description, recruitment strategies, data collection methods and procedures. The strengths and limitations of the interview, focus group and media data collection methods are given attention. The third section concentrates on the unique combination of data analysis methods, which employs thematic decomposition analysis to enhance insight into the social representations that surface in readings of the data. The chapter concludes with the final section of trustworthiness and the question of rigour in qualitative research, which involved suggesting ways in which this study might be evaluated in terms of its attention to ethical considerations. The chapter concludes with a section on the reflexive work conducted during the research process.

4.1 The qualitative research design

This research places itself within the broader framework of social representations theory and feminist poststructuralism, within which realities are constructed, are viewed as subjective and as reflecting multiple truths. Although the study of social representations does not require a specific methodological approach, qualitative methods of inquiry have been the preferred methods for understanding representations (Flick & Foster, 2008). Since one of the key investigations in social representations studies is to gain access to symbolic meaning, appropriate research methods need to be employed. In the context of quantitative studies, the

data elicited through surveys may only tap into “consciously available cognitions” (p. 211) that may play less of a role in driving behaviour (Joffe, 2011). For example, survey questions might reveal reason-based explanations, attitudes and beliefs, which might hide the symbolic as well as the emotional and experiential material that potentially set cognition and behaviour in motion (Joffe, 2011). Therefore, qualitative methods of inquiry were preferred for this study in terms of their ability to elicit these symbolic meanings.

According to Murray and Flick (2002) English- and German-speaking regions have commonly employed qualitative methodologies as a basis for their social representation studies, and particularly in the region of health studies. The primary goal of qualitative research is to describe and to gain an in-depth account of human behaviour, rather than to measure, generalise or explain behaviour, as with quantitative methodologies (Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008; Yllö, 1990). Furthermore, meaning, description and the interpretation of human experiences lie at the core of qualitative research (Kelly, 2006; Willig, 2008), and social representations theory shares its central features through the theory’s emphasis on common sense understandings and experiences (Flick & Foster, 2008).

Some scholars have described qualitative psychology as a ‘new’ phenomenon that emerged over the past 20 to 30 years representing a turn in social science epistemology in response to positivism (Kelley, 1999); whilst others have noted that its roots can be traced to earlier eras (Gergen 1985; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008). Some argued that the qualitative approach existed from the very beginnings of psychology; yet, was “marginalised and muted” (p. 3) for the first 80 years of the 20th century (Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008). Wilhelm Wundt and William James – who are often associated with the founding of psychology as a discipline – recognised the importance of the subjectivist (introspective) as well as the objectivist approaches to psychological research (Farr, 1996). Quantitative research came to

dominate psychological research (and biomedical and clinical research) in the late 1800s positioning itself as a science of behaviour and abandoning the idea of introspection and subjective experience (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008; Danziger, 1990; Willig & Stainton-Roger, 2008).

Major challenges against psychology's claim to an objective scientific status emerged in the 1970s, Willig and Stainton-Rogers (2008) argued, which occurred in parallel to the emancipator movements of the 1960s. This 'turn to language' was partially cultivated by feminist psychologists who questioned quantitative research findings that presumed women had inferior intelligence to men (for example, Gilligan, 1982). The reawakening of qualitative research methods occurred in the discipline of psychology, anthropology and sociology (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008). This new-found fascination with meaning and language assisted researchers with the necessary tools to critique and deconstruct psychological research that uncritically employed concepts such as prejudice, anger, aggression, self-esteem, intelligence and aimed to measure them (Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008). Social representations theory similarly attempted to overcome the shortcomings of social psychological theories that stood by 'individualism' and the positivist epistemology that separates the subject from the object (Farr, 1996). As Burman and Parker (1993) highlighted: "Psychological phenomena have a public and collective reality, and we are mistaken if we think that they have their origin in the private space of the individual" (p. 1). The constructionist epistemology of the current study aimed to eschew the reductionism and essentialism characteristic of much psychological theorising (Taylor & Ussher, 2001).

Much research on men's violence against women in South Africa finds itself within the field of epidemiology and psychology, and often takes a quantitative research approach (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2005; Abrahams et al., 2006; Dunkle et al., 2004; Jewkes, 2002;

Jewkes et al., 2002; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). The language of ‘risk factors’ and ‘cause and effect’ associated with this trajectory of research may not only over-simplify the complexities of the phenomenon but may too remove violence against women from the gendered context in which it occurs, and might promote ideas about victim-blaming. Men’s violence against women as an issue of masculinity was foreground by qualitative researchers, predominantly that of feminist intellectuals, who sought to expose the gendered features of domestic violence (Bograd, 1990; Brown & Hendricks, 1998; Dobash & Dobash, 1979). While qualitative work in this area of masculinity and violence is growing in South Africa (Boonzaier, 2005a, 2005b, 2008; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011; Hoosen & Collins, 2004; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Morrell, 2001; Ratele et al., 2007; Strebel et al., 2006), there is still a need to achieve more growth in terms of understanding masculinity and the social aspects of violence. By neglecting to focus on ‘violent men in context’ (i.e., the social, cultural and historical context in which violence happens), the idea of violence as a social event is stripped and reduced exclusively to an episode between the ‘victim’ and ‘perpetrator’. Qualitative methods provide the necessary methodological tools to contribute to this growing violence against women repertoire of South African studies. Aligned with the aims of the qualitative research tradition and social representations theory, this research seeks to place common sense understandings of violence against women as a foundation to understand the ways in which social groups understand the world around them and the ways in which they communicate about it.

4.2 Study context

The intention of this study was to investigate the interplay between the individual, the social and the institutional spheres, and the ways in which individual and community stories serve

to mutually reinforce each other. The preferred site for this study's data collection was NGOs that worked directly with particular communities. Based upon this study's aim to gather data on men who have been violent, their networks and the communities that they form part of, it was essential to gain rapport with community-based NGOs who had the resources to assist with recruitment. NGOs were chosen based on: a) their access to men who perpetrated violence against a woman partner(s), b) their access to the wider community which they serve, c) their willingness to assist with the recruitment for the study, and d) the value the current study may have held for their organisation. Various NGOs were approached over a five-month period before all the above criteria were met. The two community-based organisations chosen were CASE (Community Action towards a Safer Environment) in Hanover Park and Hearts of Men in Strand.

CASE has been operating in Hanover Park since 2001. This NGO aims to break the cycle of violence in communities with the help of various projects. Hearts of Men was established as a non-profit organisation in 2003 and aims to provide guidance and support to men (and women) in various communities as well as to strengthen the family through their Fatherhood and Manhood mentoring programmes. Hearts of Men operates in a variety of regions, Strand being one example. CASE (2014) and Hearts of Men (2014) understand the individual to be part of the community, and in "transforming one member at a time" (CASE, 2014) it is their aim to create a healthy cycle of individuals, families and communities. Hearts of Men primarily targets men in their community, and facilitates men through intensive personal development and mentorship training modules (HOM, 2014). CASE similarly focuses upon creating awareness about the effects of violence, whilst training and skills are offered to strengthen the community (CASE, 2014). The ultimate goal is to achieve peace and stability in the homes of residents and in the community (CASE, 2014; HOM, 2014).

The study was set in two impoverished and historically marginalised communities, namely, Hanover Park and Strand, which are predominantly Afrikaans-speaking. While both the townships may share similarities regarding their social composition, their histories are different. Geographically situated on the Cape Flats¹⁶, Hanover Park has been described as a Coloured community, located on the peripheries of Cape Town and lodged within the boundaries of the Cape Town municipality. It was established in 1969 and was one of the many areas to which black South Africans were forcibly moved as a result of the apartheid Group Areas Act of 1950 (Jensen, 1999; Lewis, 2001). The little ‘town’ of Strand was established very soon after the establishment of the Cape, forming part of the Hottentot Holland region. This coastal town was a fishing destination and a tourism destination in the late 1800s; however, since World War 2, few traces remain of these features initially associated with Strand (Heap, 1977). Currently, public buildings, residential developments, shops and factories now occupy the area. With the rapid urbanisation, widespread poverty, high unemployment rates, and severe housing shortage – largely owing to the apartheid urbanisation policies – Strand similarly resembles a forced removal area.

Both Hanover Park and Strand display many symptoms of impoverished areas through their poor physical environments and the high degree of social and structural disintegration. These townships, like many others created from forced removals, are also characterised by high levels of violence, crime, drug and alcohol abuse. In particular, Hanover Park has entered public discourse as the “capital of gangsterism” in the country (Bosch, 2010, p. 100) and through local news reports about gang shootings in the area, which at times have fatal outcomes for innocent bystanders. While some research that describes the

¹⁶ An area developed over the 1960s and 1970s in the name of the Group Areas Act of 1950, which acted as a “dumping ground” (p. 76) predominantly for the group categorised as Coloured South Africans (Jensen, 1999). These Cape Flats townships are often referred to as “gang-land”, and are characterised by poverty, social disintegration and violence (Jensen, 1999, p. 76).

social issues that have traumatised Hanover Park exist (Parker, 2010; Tomlinson, Swartz & Landman, 2003) almost no research – besides the work of Ross (1996) – has acknowledged Strand in the same regard, especially pertaining to issues about interpersonal violence. It is in the context of Hanover Park and Strand that the current study is situated in its analysis of battering men and their social networks' talk about violence against women. Although the two communities are geographically distanced from each other, the similarities of high levels of violence, crime, social disintegration and substance abuse between these communities provide justification for a combined analysis of the data retrieved from both of the communities.

4.3 Sample description

Twenty-two individual face-to-face interviews were conducted with 11 men who perpetrated violence against a woman partner(s). The men's ages ranged from 19 to 57 years, with a mean age of 37 years and all participants described themselves as Coloured. Five participants reported that they were unemployed at the time of the interviews, while two worked in the informal sector, and the remainder were employed full-time, predominantly in unskilled or low-skilled employment. The majority of the men reported being in long-term heterosexual marriages (see Appendix A).

A total of 45 social network members were recruited and participated in the focus groups, all of whom identified as Coloured. Their ages ranged between 20 and 72 years with a mean age of 36 years. Twenty-five women and 20 men comprised the focus group sample. More than 60 percent of the participants reported that they were unemployed at the time of their participation, while just over a quarter of the sample reported being employed full-time, part-time or in the informal sector. The remainder of the participants described themselves as

pensioners, housewives or ‘other’. In terms of education, 82 percent of the participants reported not having completed their high school education (see Appendix B).

The collection of media samples was restricted to the examination of printed forms of news media, which drew the largest readership across Cape Town, namely the *Daily Voice* and the *Cape Argus*. Printed forms of media were collected due to the ease with which it could be analysed and presented in a hardcopy written format as evidence. The newspaper analysis included all articles that made reference to violence against women, including topics that spoke to intimate partner abuse and more broadly to all forms of violence (i.e., sexual, physical, verbal, psychological/emotional, economic). Initially the researcher planned to collect a hard copy of each newspaper once a month; however, the dearth of news reports – particularly in the *Cape Argus* – that placed any kind of focus upon violence against women led to the urgent revision of the newspaper collection strategy. Instead, an electronic search was conducted with the help of the Sabinet Reference (SA Media division) and *Daily Voice* databases that made all newspaper editions available during the period of August 2011 to February 2013. A total of 47 Argus articles (a combination of Cape and Weekend Argus reports) and 66 *Daily Voice* articles were gathered from the databases, after searching the following keywords: *violence, abuse, women, woman, girlfriend, partner, kill, and murder*.

4.4 Data collection methods and procedures

A triangulation¹⁷ of data collection methods (i.e., the individual interviews, focus groups and a printed media analysis) was employed to investigate and understand representations of

¹⁷ Triangulation is defined as the integration of data from different sources to obtain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon being investigated, which may involve a variety of data collection and data analysis strategies within the context of one study (Flick, 2004; Willig, 2008).

intimate partner violence amongst men, their social networks and in the media. As a strong suit of this study, a triangulation of methods allowed for an appreciation of the diverse dimensions of social representations and consequently, generated richer data, which is central to the design of qualitative research (Kelly, 2006; Willig, 2008). Other social representations studies have employed a triangulation of approaches (e.g., Jodelet, 1991; Joffe, 1995; Levin-Rozalis et al., 2003) and have spoken to the “fruitfulness” (p. 201) of gaining a more holistic approach through drawing upon different methods (Flick & Foster, 2008). Three strategies for data collection were employed: individual interviews, focus groups and newspaper media analyses. A description of a) the data collection procedures, b) the methods, and c) how the methods addressed the research questions, will be expanded upon below. The strengths and limitations of the methods will also be touched on briefly below; however, they will be expanded upon in greater detail in the final chapter.

4.4.1 Episodic and creative interviewing. Twenty-two individual face-to-face interviews were conducted with 11 men who perpetrated violence against a woman partner(s). The men were purposively sampled and recruited from men’s programmes at community-based NGOs, in their respective communities. As Joffe (2011) argued, “each individual’s account contains threads of the social thinking in which the individual is embedded” (p. 213). Since individuals’ thought is deeply rooted in their social environments, the purposive sampling strategy – which allows investigators to seek out groups, individuals or settings based on the topic under study (Silverman, 2005) – is necessary to unearth potential intergroup and intragroup differences and similarities (Joffe, 2011). With the permission of the programme staff, I visited group sessions prior to the day of data collection to present information about my research and invite the men to participate in the study. Brief

information sheets were distributed to the men. Informed consent was formally gathered from the participants once data collection began (Appendix C and D). A brief demographic form was also completed by each participant on the day of data collection. The men were eligible to participate in the study if they a) perpetrated any type of abuse against an intimate female partner(s); b) were comfortable with communicating in English or Afrikaans; and c) if they were above 18 years of age. Men were also informed that they had to recruit peers and family members from their community of residence for the second phase of the study (that is, the focus group discussions with the network members).

Each of the men participated in two interviews – each between 60 to 90 minutes long – to ensure depth and quality of the data collected, and for the interviewer to gain some rapport with the men. The two interviews did not vary in type; however, aspects that were not covered or that needed clarification in the first interview were addressed in the second interview. When research participants are asked to either talk about themselves, or relay experiences of their lives, individuals commonly use narrative forms of structuring their lives i.e., through story-telling (Hiles & Čermák, 2008). As a result, the episodic interview¹⁸ was employed, which is a specific type of semi-structured, narrative interview. This interviewing technique is well-suited to the process of *retrospective anchoring* (i.e., understanding in which contexts participants place their experiences of violence) and it was considered important because of the study's interest in the subjective experiences of violence perpetration and its linkages to the situational, process-oriented, and abstract aspects of violence as a social representation. The episodic interview aimed to generate data that

¹⁸ Episodic interviewing has its foundations in narrative psychology and was developed in a study on the social representation of technological change in everyday life (Flick, 2000). Episodic knowledge is defined as everyday knowledge that is related to specific circumstances (e.g., time, events, people, events, situations) (Flick, 2000). The episodic interview is characterised by a combination of narratives that particularly focus on experiences in concrete situations (Flick, 2000; Flick, 2004). The episodic interview escapes the broad life history approach of the narrative interview (Flick, 2009), by drawing on the strengths of the more focused semi-structured interview and the narrative interview.

addressed one aspect of the research question: “*What and how* do social representations of intimate partner violence emerge in men’s narratives of their own violence?”.

The episodic interview generally begins with asking participants about the first time they experienced an event or incident (Flick, 2004). In the case of the study the men were asked to relay experiences about the following: 1) their first experience with witnessing, experiencing or perpetrating violence against a woman and to provide a story of that incident, and 2) subsequent incidents of violence against women (if any) throughout their lives. Men were also asked to talk about the way in which other individuals in their social groups (friends, family, neighbours, community members, bystanders, and so on) responded to their abuse against partner(s). The interview then proceeded with more specific questions about the concept itself (Flick, 2004); for example, in the current study it was asked, “How have you come to understand the act of ‘violence against women’ currently?” or “What would you now constitute as violence against a woman partner?”.

Some researchers have expressed some dissatisfaction concerning the limitations of the interviewing approach (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997; Joffe, 2011; Mason & Davies, 2009). One primary limitation of the interviewing method is the extent to which interviewers can gain access to in-depth knowledge and detail on personal experience through the pathways of language alone (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997). Senses are part of human life and experience, yet social scientific ways of knowing the world, have in the past, tended to filter out the senses (Mason & Davies, 2009). In the past decade, visual methods have moved beyond being a minority interest to attracting increasing attention across disciplines (Mason & Davies, 2009). More “naturalistic methods” (p. 212) have thus been advanced, since these approaches are said to produce dynamic data based on participants’ feelings and thoughts (Joffe, 2011). Acknowledging the multi-sensory parts of lived experience and culture in

research might have important implications for strengthening a study's ontological and epistemological stance (Mason & Davies, 2009). Consequently, the interviewing in this study was complimented by sensory (in particular, visual) methods as a way of accessing in-depth accounts.

Although creative interviewing¹⁹ is not necessarily a feature of episodic interviewing, Moscovici (2001) explained that people make sense of unfamiliar phenomena through linking them to existing ideas and images. In order to elicit some of these images, participants were asked to list or draw some of the objects or subjects (people) that they associate with violence against women, and to provide an explanation. The drawing task was presented in the men's second interviews and was not analysed; they were solely used as a means to enhance the creative thinking of participants and to elicit the necessary information (see Appendix E for some examples). This process of recalling visual memories and imagery may too cross paths with narrative picturing used in memory work (Stuhlmiller, 1996) as it also involves encouraging individuals to visualise lived experiences as pictures in "the mind's eye" (p. 36). However, this study's approach moves beyond visualising pictures to physically drawing the pictures.

Once the first round of interviews were complete, I proceeded to explain how the men could assist with the recruitment of their social networks for the next part of data collection; the focus group sessions.

4.4.2 Focus groups. Seven focus groups were conducted with men's social networks in the two communities studied, each 60 to 90 minutes long. The social networks considered

¹⁹ Aligned with Mason and Davies' (2009) description of this combination approach, this method was named 'creative interviewing'.

for participation in the focus groups were dependent on a) the level of their relationship with the man participant, b) whether they resided within the man's community, c) were comfortable communicating in English or Afrikaans, and d) 18 years of age or older. The social network participants recruited for the study were friends, neighbours, fellow church congregants and family members of the 'seeds'. The men who were interviewed were not part of the group discussions. The man's intimate partner against whom the abuse had been perpetrated was not eligible for participation in the focus group. The focus group data addressed another aspect of the research question: "*what* and *how* do social representations of intimate partner violence emerge in social networks' narratives?".

Men's social networks were recruited by drawing on aspects of the recently developed respondent driven sampling (RDS) method, which is used to recruit hidden, difficult to access, high-risk and socially networked populations (Abdul-Quader, Heckathorn, Sabin & Saidel, 2006; Heckathorn, 1997; Townsend et al., 2010). Other sampling techniques, such as snowballing, the key-informant approach and targeted sampling have been argued to lead to low response rates (Abdul-Quader et al., 2006; Heckathorn, 1997). As a response to the pitfalls of these sampling approaches, Heckathorn (1997) pioneered respondent driven sampling which is a quantitative probability sampling technique that combines snowball sampling as well as a mathematical model, used to counteract the non-randomised recruitment of participants. As qualitative research is not concerned with random sampling (Kelly, 2006), only aspects of RDS were employed, namely its modified snowball sampling technique. This sampling method is based upon the idea that peers rather than outreach workers or researchers are better able to recruit and monitor members of a hidden population (Abdul-Quader et al., 2006; Heckathorn, 1997).

Respondent driven sampling begins with a certain number of initial contacts called ‘seeds’ who are eligible for the study (Heckathorn, 1997). In the case of this study, the men who were interviewed were the ‘seeds’. Once the ‘seeds’ were interviewed they became recruiters and the researcher initially provided each man with a set of six coupons (Appendix F) with which to invite their social network members to participate (Heckathorn, 1997; Townsend et al., 2010). However, since the coupons were often misplaced or lost, the method that proved to be most effective was to request the identified network members’ phone numbers and to speak to the person directly. In cases where the network members did not have contact details, the men acted as mediators and were requested to explain the study to potential participants and inform them of the date and time for the group discussion. ‘Seeds’ were provided some incentive for each recruit on condition that the network member attended the focus group session (see Appendix C, under ‘money matters’). The men each referred between two and 11 network members. The very inclusion of secondary incentives, as opposed to only individualised or primary rewards, has been argued to play a central role in the effectiveness of RDS (Heckathorn, 1997).

The level of the man’s relationship with his social network member was also important. Moscovici (2001) explained that shared knowledge within social groups is bound by trust; as he stated: “We can therefore state that trust is both the origin and the limit of social knowledge” (p. 9). However, challenges were experienced with recruiting this particular sample of ‘trusted’ network members. Some men reported that they did not have any relationships that they would constitute as being built on trust mainly because they chose not to establish these kinds of bonds with community members. While untrustworthy relationships may have been a reality for some men, the hesitation to invite members from their social circles could have been based upon fears concerning the intrusion of privacy (i.e.,

concerns that social networks might provide ‘private’ information about the men). Although it was communicated to the men that the focus group discussions were not used to generate stories about them but to hear the social networks’ views about violence against women, it may still have influenced the number of network members the men referred.

A newspaper article about intimate partner violence was used as a vignette to stimulate the group discussion (Appendix G). As Joffe (1995) argued, media campaigns work with existing discourses and often set the tone for future ones, which may be found in the talk of the masses. It was important in the current study that a media-vignette was employed since it might have unearthed the ways in which participants internalised messages from the media and how this translates into everyday understandings of violence against women. This particular report was chosen because a) it emerges out of a newspaper that holds the highest readership in the Western Cape (see newspaper statistics in section 4.4.3) and may therefore have been a familiar form of printed media for the participants, and b) it was the only newspaper article from the two newspapers under investigation in this study that focused exclusively on intimate partner violence at the time of the focus groups.

The group discussion was semi-structured and involved coverage of the following areas: why men commit violence against women; how violence affects their community; how they would define the act of abuse; where violence normally takes place in their community; and how community members, as onlookers, respond to public or private acts of violence against women. Although the structure of the questions did not necessarily invite stories from the participants, it was a common occurrence across the groups that opinions were often relayed in the form of personal experiences and as stories about others. It was also the case that some of the network members were victims, witnesses or perpetrators of violence against women.

The focus groups were predominantly mixed, meaning that a variety of men's network members formed each focus group. It was rarely the case that a focus group was composed of one man's circle of friends and family members as it was important that the discussion moved beyond a focus on the 'seed'. The focus groups were a mix of various social network members, and at times, some of the network members were familiar with each other, and others were not. The size of the focus groups varied between four to nine participants with an average of six. Willig (2008) argued that an average of six participants should be employed per focus group to ensure that the discussion can be well-managed by the moderator and to ensure transcription quality. Although the target in this study was six members per group, at times the seeds unforeseeably brought more network members than requested and the researcher chose not to send the extra participants away. The rationale behind this decision was based upon the understanding that participants gave up their time to attend the discussion and with the gang shootings occurring within Hanover Park at the time of the data collection, the participants also sacrificed their safety to attend. Some focus groups were smaller than the suggested average of six members because of the dropout rates; however, it allowed for a more intimate setting whereby the participants could comfortably voice their opinions, which may not have been possible in a bigger group.

4.4.3 Newspaper analysis. A newspaper analysis formed the final investigation into social representations of violence against women. The above methods of data collection recognise the way in which social representations are developed and presented through immediate social interaction (Flick & Foster, 2008). However, social representations theory also interprets the way in which scientific and institutional knowledge is perceived by individuals (Flick, 1995). It has been shown that social representations may also be

generated, maintained and transformed by institutions, such as the media, that distribute messages to the masses (Joffe, 1995). A critical analysis of newspaper reports was carried out to address the final research objective: to examine how media messages might frame, form and develop representations of violence against women, and the way in which these representations emerge within discourses.

Purposive sampling was employed to gather the top two most popular printed media sources available within the Western Cape region. At the time of this study's commencement (August 2011), statistics offered by South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF) All Media and Products Survey (AMPS) revealed that, from January 2011 to December 2012, the *Cape Argus* (combined with the *Weekend Argus*) and *Daily Voice* drew the two largest readerships within the category of daily newspapers in the Western Cape region. It was calculated that during 2011 alone, the *Daily Voice*²⁰ attracted an average of 556 000 readers, while the *Cape Argus* and *Weekend Argus*²¹ attracted an average of 287 000 and 304 000 readers, respectively. The latest statistics, calculated between June 2012 and July 2013 by SAARF AMPS (see Appendix J), showed that the newspapers continue to lead in terms of readership popularity with an increase in average readership for the *Cape Argus* (303 000) and a slight decrease for the *Daily Voice* (528 000) and *Weekend Argus* (293 000).

The time-frame for data collection began once ethical approval for the study was granted and ended 18 months later. The time-frame for newspaper collection was also based upon the outcomes of previous research. Gibbs and Jobson (2011) aimed to identify the

²⁰ *Daily Voice* is a weekly, Monday-to-Friday tabloid newspaper, which is described as being an outrageous, thrilling and entertaining read for their target audience of working class people. The *Daily Voice* lives by its motto: "Ons skrik vir Niks" (translation: "We fear nothing") with an added objective to capture everyday life of the Cape community (see Appendix H)

²¹ *Cape Argus* and *Weekend Argus* are described as quality newspapers, distributed on weekdays and weekends, on a weekly basis. It is known to have a diverse coverage of news, finance, entertainment and sport with a strong emphasis on lifestyle issues (see Appendix I)

narratives of masculinity and AIDS in the *Daily Sun*, the tabloid newspaper with the largest readership in the country. The authors conducted an intensive analysis over a period of five days surrounding the World AIDS Day campaign (Gibbs & Jobson, 2011). While such an intensive analysis produced valuable findings in the above study, it was important for this study to assess news reports on violence against women beyond campaigns and national events. Studies emerging from the Media Monitoring Project (MMP)²² showed that the topic of violence against women and children in South Africa received significant coverage over the 16 Days of Activism Against Women and Child Abuse campaign (taking place between 25 November and 10 December), followed by an abrupt regression in coverage post-campaign (Harries & Bird, 2005). This heightened news reporting around campaigns might also be an example of the media's tendency to report heavily on newsworthy events (Gilchrist, 2010). Through examining newspaper reports on violence against women during and outside campaigns, the current study explored not only the kind of messages that are forged, but also how these messages might be selected and crafted to serve particular interests.

4.5 Analysis of data: Thematic decomposition

Flick and Foster (2008) argued that data analyses in social representations studies are driven by a “comparative perspective” (p. 203) with a specific focus upon different social groups. Scholars have suggested that the best way in which to carry out this comparative perspective is to adopt the coding procedure offered through thematic analysis (Flick & Foster, 2008; Joffe, 2011; Joffe & Yardley, 2004). Thematic analysis is an empirically-focused approach

²² Since 1993 the MMP undertook a series of studies that investigated the way in which gender-based violence, and in particular women and child abuse, is represented in the media. It is now referred to as Media Monitoring Africa.

for identifying the most significant themes²³ and patterns of content in data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Joffe, 2011). It has been shown that thematic analysis is particularly well-suited to social representations research because themes that are shared within social groups may illustrate the existence and features of social representations (Joffe, 2011; Joffe & Yardley, 2004). Joffe as well as other scholars (see Joffe, 1999; Joffe & Haarhoff, 2002; Joffe et al., 2011; Washer & Joffe, 2006; Washer, Joffe & Solberg, 2008) have commonly employed thematic analysis to unravel the public's and the mass media's perceptions of infectious diseases, such as AIDS, Ebola virus and methicillin-resistant *Staphylococcus aureus* (MRSA). Thematic analysis can be employed for a range of data to map out the development of representations (Joffe, 2011). Mass media material and individual interviews, for example, might be thematically analysed together to explore the circulation and transformation of representations through the lens of communication (Joffe, 1995; Washer et al., 2008). It is also likely that thematic analysis may act as a tool to tap into the necessary symbolic meanings that are shown to be salient in social representations theory (Joffe, 2011).

Thematic analysis has been noted for its flexibility as an analytic approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Joffe, 2011; Riessman, 2008). Braun and Clarke (2006) argued that qualitative analytic methods can generally be divided into two camps: the first camp consists of those methods that are either bound to or emerge from specific theoretical or epistemological positions (e.g., narrative analysis, discourse analysis, to name a few), while those in the second camp have been described as being independent of theory and epistemology, therefore allowing it to be applied across theory and epistemology. Through its “theoretical freedom” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 5), the thematic approach finds itself in the second camp; allowing

²³ A theme refers to a “specific pattern” (p. 57) in the data, which is salient to the particular study at hand (Joffe & Yardley, 2004).

this analytical method to be applied within essentialist and constructionist paradigms within psychology (Joffe, 2011).

In the current study, thematic analysis was adopted as a ‘contextualist’ method; which is described as a critical take on constructionism and it has strong ties with theories, such as critical realism²⁴ (Willig, 1999). Lupton (1999) postulated that the constructionist-realist approach is well-matched to theories with *weak constructionist* origins, such as social representations theory. *Weak constructionism* refers to the perspective that views ways of knowing as socially constructed with an additional emphasis upon the material basis and conditions of such issues (Joffe, 2011). However, while violence may carry symbolic and subjective meaning it also has real material consequences (Crenshaw, 1994; Gopal & Chetty, 2006). The contextualist approach to thematic analysis acknowledges the ways in which individuals make meaning of their experiences; with the simultaneous investigation of the broader social context and the way in which material conditions might impinge on those meanings and limit ‘realities’ (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This approach was considered ideal for the current study since it provided a way of challenging the idea that acts of violence are ‘individualised’ and showed how the experience of violence is shaped by a range of intersections and structural oppressions.

Braun and Clarke (2006) argued, however, that if thematic analysis is not employed within an existing theoretical framework which grounds analytic claims, it may lead to limited interpretive power. In contrast to methods such as discourse and narrative analysis, the thematic analyst cannot make assertions about language use, interaction or how talk functions (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Riessman, 2008). In order to attend to this limitation, a

²⁴ A limitation of the social constructionist approach is that it tends to deny the existence of the material world or anything considered ‘real’ beyond the level of narrative. This limitation of a purely constructionist approach may lead to discounting people’s realities and may dismiss them as nothing more than cultural constructions (Taylor & Ussher, 2001; Willig, 1999).

particular kind of thematic discourse analysis²⁵ was drawn upon, namely, *thematic decomposition analysis*²⁶ (Stenner, 1993). This approach attempts to discover patterns – such as themes, stories and discourses – within the data, while also reflecting upon subject positions allocated to or taken up by a person (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Ussher & Mooney-Somers, 2000). Scholars have argued that social representations might be enhanced through approaches that provide techniques with which to bring the cognitive process of creating representations (anchoring and objectification) to the fore. Social representations may also be enriched by approaches that place more emphasis upon language, power and performance (László, 1997; McKinlay et al., 1993; Potter & Edwards, 1999). The current study acknowledged these claims by employing thematic decomposition which draws upon a poststructuralist approach; one that places more emphasis upon language, power, subjectivity and the co-construction of meaning. Inherent in the thematic decomposition approach is the idea that language is dependent upon meaning and that meaning is largely shaped by the social (Stenner, 1993). This form of analysis has been employed in both discourse (Singer & Hunter, 1999; Taylor & Ussher, 2001) and narrative (Ussher & Mooney-Somers, 2000) inquiry studies. The thematic decomposition analysis assisted with the exploration of

²⁵ The term thematic discourse analysis refers to a wide range of pattern-based analytical practices, which might include thematic analysis and other forms of analysis similar to the interpretative repertoire approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A discourse analysis “involves attention to the ways in which language does more than reflect what it represents” (p. 3) with the added assumption “that meanings are multiple and shifting rather than unitary and fixed” (Burman & Parker, 1993, p. 3). The manner in which discourse analysis might be used to identify, contrast and make sense of themes within a text is reflected upon by Hollway (1989), Potter and Wetherell (1987) and Burman and Parker (1993).

²⁶ Burman and Parker (1993) have argued that Stenner’s (1993) idea of thematic decomposition is merely a way of stepping away from reifying the meanings that have become inherent in terms such as ‘discourse’ or ‘repertoires’. Since the term ‘post-structuralist’ may still hold “positivist echoes of its history in structuralism” (Burman & Parker, 1993, p. 6), Stenner (1993) named his approach thematic decomposition which speaks to a focus upon the storied aspects of the topic of interest, with reference to the way in which subject positions are constructed in ‘talk’.

narratives in the interview and focus group data, and the study of discourses in the newspaper data in this study.

4.5.1 Analysis procedure. Thematic analysis' reputation for being poorly executed yet widely used may be owing to the fact that there is no clear agreement regarding how it should be carried out (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Boyatzis, 1998). In order to achieve a theoretically and methodologically sound analysis, the study was guided by Braun and Clarke (2006) and Boyatzis' (1998) procedures for conducting thematic analysis, and Stenner's (1993) piece on thematic decomposition analysis. By adopting these guidelines, this study aimed to establish the most significant "constellations of meaning" (p. 209) (including the cognitive, affective and symbolic dimensions of meaning) in the final product of the analysis (Joffe, 2011).

4.5.1.1 Phase 1: Transcription. The interview and focus group data were transcribed verbatim by a hired transcriber, whilst the researcher attended to the newspaper report data by re-writing it onto separate Microsoft Word documents. The transcription conventions offered by Parker (2005) and Riessman (1993) were followed in this study. Riessman (1993) argued that although the process of transcription might appear time-consuming and frustrating at times it also informs the beginning stages of the analysis and allows the investigator to familiarise him or herself with the data. Given the magnitude of the sample of data collected for this study, I hired a transcriber; yet, I still engaged with the beginning stage of initial interpretation by checking the original audio recordings for accuracy and transcription quality as well as reading and re-reading to achieve a level of familiarity with the data.

The data were transcribed in the original language used in the groups or interviews to preserve meaning; however, English translations were provided in the analysis and discussion

chapters in rounded brackets. Some Afrikaans terms were used colloquially and were retained in the chapters to come.

4.5.1.2 Phase 2: Developing the Coding frame. Given the diverse array of data collected, it was important to adhere to a systematic procedure in working through the data. Once all data and notes were transcribed, the analysis of data began with the repeated and active reading of the data. This process of reading and re-reading allowed the researcher to become more familiar with the depth and breadth of the content and to highlight meanings and patterns in the data. Since both an inductive and theoretically-driven approach to coding²⁷ was taken, it was equally important to devise the coding frame according to the content emerging from the data and to generate codes inspired by previous research on men's violence against women. The interviews, focus groups and newspaper data were coded separately at first to ensure that an inductive approach was taken, rather than to assume that the same patterns would emerge between the different data sets. The data were further distinguished and coded according to the communities in which they were gathered. A theoretically-driven coding frame meant having to code according to the study's theoretical framework. Consequently special attention was paid to the social re-presentations, narratives and discourses emerging from the data. The episodic approach to interviewing and conducting focus group discussions specifically generated data that revealed men and their network members' social representations of violence as well as the cognitive processes of retrospective anchoring. Therefore, the data allowed for an understanding of how the representation was created, maintained and how it can potentially be changed (Flick, 1995). It is also characteristic of the theoretically-driven approach to offer a more nuanced and

²⁷ Coding is a widely used term that refers to the categorisation of data, which involves taking portions of the data and placing them into designated categories (Joffe, 2011).

detailed analysis of the data (Boyatzis, 1998), which was prevalent in the final write-up of this study's findings.

The data were coded manually on Microsoft Word documents by highlighting segments of data that may have indicated particular patterns. Separate Microsoft Word files were created for each code and the relevant data were collated under each code²⁸. Furthermore, Braun and Clarke's (2006) suggestion was taken into account – the researcher coded for as many potential themes as possible and extracts were coded “inclusively” (p. 19), meaning that some of the surrounding data was included to avoid losing context. This practice of refining codes through un-coding, coding and re-coding occurred throughout this phase. Some data did not fit neatly into the coding frame at this stage and were stored in a separate folder for later consideration. This process of coding and organising the data into meaningful groups, however, differs from the themes which are argued to be broader and more firmly grounded within the interpretive phase of the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The next phase of analysis involved the development of themes.

4.5.1.3 Phase 3: Identifying and reviewing themes. Once coded and collated, the data were reassessed on the broader level of themes. The process of re-evaluating the codes and considering how they may be combined within larger themes was complimented with visual representations. Various methods of listing and mind-mapping were used and codes were tried and tested by placing them into different “theme-piles” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 20). The validity of each theme and the meaning it reflected in the data set as a whole were

²⁸ Codes refers to the segments of data that the analyst might find interesting (Braun & Clarke, 2006), and Boyatzis (1998) added that the code might be identified as “the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon” (p. 63).

primarily dependent upon the study's theoretical approach. According to Hoijer (2011), social representations might be recognised in data as metaphors, images, emotions, attitudes and judgements. They may also be embedded in dialogues, debates, media and scientific discourses (Fife-Schaw, 1993; Hoijer, 2011). This description of a social representation assisted in highlighting valid social representations and themes.

The development of the representations involved a latent-level thematic analysis, thereby placing the examination of underlying ideas, assumptions, meaning and ideologies at the core of the analysis. This tradition of conducting latent-level analyses emerged out of the constructionist paradigm, which overlaps with thematic discourse analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It was also important in the current study to include accounts which may have departed from what appeared to be dominant representations, since these counter-ideologies, inconsistencies and contradictions added a new and intriguing dynamic to the findings. An attempt was also made to begin interpreting the data on the basis of dominant narratives and discourses, and how they functioned and affected meanings in the interviews, focus groups and newspaper reports. However, more thought was given to incorporating the narrative and discursive approaches in the next phase of analysis.

4.5.1.4 Phase 4: Thematic decomposition analysis. A thematic decomposition analysis was employed in the current study, which is best described as a thematic analysis with a poststructuralist approach and explores the narratives and discourses that emerge within representations (Sandberg, 2011; Søndergaard, 2002). Further, the study drew from the narrative-discursive approach (Taylor, 2005, 2006), which is aligned to social psychological work on discourse and narrative analysis by theorists such as Bruner (1991), Edwards and Potter (1992), Gergen (1985), and Potter and Wetherell (1987). Taylor (2006)

understands narrative to be part of discursive resources as she argued that, “our understanding of who we are, our identities, are derived from the accumulated ideas, images, associations and so on which make up the wider social and cultural contexts of our lives” (p. 94). The narrative-discursive approach also highlights that talk and identity is constituted through practice, and particularly through the discursive resources made available to speakers (Taylor, 2006). The approach furthermore conceives of identity as partially constructed by wider social meanings as the speaker’s agency operates to contest or approve these meanings (Taylor, 2006). Gergen and Gergen (2006) also highlight two approaches to narrative, firstly, as cognitive structures through which the world is understood and second, as discursive actions. The current study acknowledges both these approaches and in taking a narrative-discursive approach, aims to study what “people are *doing* when they tell their stories²⁹, and therefore, what stories are *designed* to do” (Stokoe & Edwards, 2006, p. 57).

From a poststructuralist stance, the current study acknowledged the centrality of language, subjectivity, knowledge and power in shaping practices of re-presentation (Stenner, 1993), and therefore, the following features were emphasised in the analysis of representations: language; the co-construction of meaning; positioning, power and resistance; contradictions, tensions and complexities; and emotion. In terms of language, it has been argued that a focus on narrative means bringing “structures of language into focus, with a plethora of attendant possibilities for linguistic, visual and even behavioural analysis” (Squire, 2005, p. 92). The use of language as a tool in the making of meaning was explored in

²⁹ Some scholars have highlighted the difference between narrative and story. Narrative is conceptualised as a means of organising reality and other social actors, providing meaning to everyday encounters, and is “governed by convention” (Bruner, 1991, p. 4; Murray, 2002; Taylor, 2006). Narrative also places an emphasis upon the context, practices and performances (Bamberg, 2006). In terms of stories, Squire (2005) argued that stories are defined in two ways. Some scholars conceptualise stories without highlighting their temporal and causal features (Todorov, 1980) whilst others, such as Bruner (1991), emphasise the way in which stories construct common sense. Similar to scholars such as Stokoe and Edwards (2006) and Zungu (2013), the current study employs the latter definition and uses the terms narrative and story interchangeably.

great detail. For example, in the interviews and focus groups, metaphors and certain Afrikaans terms were found to reflect deeper meanings embedded in culture.

The context of the story-telling was paid attention by acknowledging the ‘audiences’ and the interaction, and the co-construction of narratives (Squire, 2005) between the interviewer, men interviewees and the focus group participants. Boonzaier (2014) argued that an analysis of the dialogical features of narratives is important in highlighting the storytelling context and for understanding how “the context produces what is said” (p. 14). In addition, the mental and verbal constructions in individuals’ stories were understood as part of the shared stories by a particular culture or society. These common stories or narratives of a particular culture could be seen as shared representations of a particular group (László, 1997), and this study aimed to emphasise the social forces at work in the men and their network members’ personal narratives.

An important aspect of thematic decomposition is the investigation of subject positionings of speakers in relation to particular narratives or discourses (Stenner, 1993). As Joffe (1995) argued, although social groups may hold different social representations of phenomena in the social world, it is the way in which they position themselves in relation to the dominant representations that should be of importance. In men’s narratives, some positioned themselves within and even against the dominant representation of what it means to be a ‘real’ man in their communities, demonstrating the internal conflict of adhering to community gendered representations as opposed to internalising the programme lessons of taking on an alternative, non-violent masculinity. This conflict experienced by some men sheds light on moments of tension, contradiction and complexities of subjectivity. In addition, the investigation into the conformity and non-conformity of group narratives (see

Fife-Schaw, 1993; McKinlay et al., 1993; Potter & Edwards, 1999) was germane to this analysis.

The analysis of emotion became an integral part of locating and understanding social representations. A social representation is the understanding and naming of behaviour at a cognitive and emotional level (Levin-Rozalis et al., 2003). A representation may also emerge in response to threats to collective identity and may function to defend groups against these threats (Joffe, 1995). A common emotion shared amongst interview and focus group participants was that of humour, which often led to shared laughter. The meaning behind the laughter and use of humorous narratives within interactions were investigated. Anger, frustration and remorse were other emotions that appeared to emerge amongst participants. Remorse was commonly expressed amongst the ‘seeds’ in response to their perpetration of violence against partners. It was important for the researcher to understand how the use of humour functioned in participants’ narratives and how remorse was a central emotion in its capacity to resist dominant ‘permissive’ representations.

Given this study’s aim to understand representations of violence against women through a historical account of the phenomenon and through the lens of power, the study’s discursive take on representations was inspired by the work of Foucault (1972, 1977, 1980, 1982, 1988). ‘Discourse’ in the Foucauldian (1980) sense of the term, does not refer to an instance of language use alone; it is a description of rules and systems of a particular body of knowledge. This Foucauldian take on ‘discourse’ was considered fitting for this study’s investigation into the way in which the mass media might govern social knowledge through its power as an institution, and how it might create and shape representations of violence against women. It also allowed for an analysis of whether lay representations echo, defend or resist wider societal discourses. As Joffe (1995) argued, power and psychodynamic defence

plays an integral role in the formation and evolution of social representations, and in the process might open up possibilities for resistance. The analysis of the newspaper data illustrated how the representations were enhanced through a historical account concerned with language, power and subjectivities (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008).

In sum, sufficient evidence of the themes was made available, while extracts that captured the essence of the argument were employed. Clarity around process and practice of method of analysis is also key in carrying out research that can be evaluated and possibly synthesised or compared to other similar research (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which will be discussed next.

4.6 Trustworthiness and the question of rigour

Rigour, a concept often associated with quantitative research, has come to be synonymous with terms such as objectivity, replication, reliability, measurability, standardisation and validity (Davies & Dodd, 2002). However, the quantitative tone to rigorous research might make qualitative research - that allows contradictions, flexibility and values – appear less credible (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008). Traditional notions of reliability and validity cannot be applied in qualitative studies as they work in opposition to the central qualitative tenets that ‘truth’ is not fixed or uniform but rather multiple and fluid (Davies & Dodd, 2002).

Consequently scholars have set out to devise a single set of criteria for ‘good’ rigorous qualitative research (Silverman, 2005). However, the acknowledgement that qualitative research is grounded in a range of theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches has led other scholars to emphasise the flexibility of the criteria and the way in which they should be adapted to suit the research at hand (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008; Davies & Dodd, 2002; Parker, 2005; Riessman, 1993). The current study can be evaluated according to a cogent set

of criteria that allows qualitative researchers to speak meaningfully of trustworthiness, in particular credibility³⁰, confirmability³¹ and rigour (Davies & Dodd, 2002; Cohen & Crabtree, 2008; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Riessman, 1993).

In order to achieve a level of credibility or coherence (Riessman, 1993), I attempted to exercise prolonged engagement with the participants (Clisset, 2008). In the context of the individual interviews, two interviews were conducted with each participant to allow a level of trust to grow, and to achieve some degree of member checks³² through continuous clarification of understanding between the researcher and participant. The researcher also spent time at the NGOs in the respective communities, engaging in conversations with the staff to learn more about the context within which the findings are grounded. This study also adopted a triangulation of research methods, which not only served a significant purpose for identifying social representations but also added to the practice of ‘good’ qualitative research. It allowed for an understanding of how similar research questions might be approached with different methods of data collection and how the produced data might corroborate each other (Silverman, 2005).

In terms of confirmability, I remained aware of the possible power and control I had over the participants’ words and the possible meanings of their texts (Stenner, 1993). In order to respect participants’ stories, I worked with my supervisor to ensure that the analysis produced sound meanings and interpretations. Since the analysis techniques emerge from the constructionist tradition, the interpretations and analyses offered in this thesis are by no means reflective of reality or truth but rather readings of the texts. As argued by a range of constructionist theorists, themes do not simply emerge, but “must be actively sought out”

³⁰ The extent to which the study’s findings closely resemble interpretations of the data collected (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

³¹ The extent to which the study’s findings and conclusions reflect the data collected (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

³² Member checks refer to the process of checking emerging findings with participants (Clisset, 2008).

(Braun & Clarke, 2006; Taylor & Ussher, 2001, p. 310). To furthermore gain a ‘trustworthy’ status for the current study, detailed descriptions regarding the analysis of data and interpretations were provided, and all decisions and changes in the research design were justified (Riessman, 1993).

In order to reconceptualise rigorous qualitative research, Davies and Dodd (2002) suggested that qualitative research should be evaluated against its attention to responsibility, partiality, subjectivity, reflexivity and “by rendering visible the research process, even when seemingly disordered and chaotic” (p. 285). Ethics are also key in practicing rigour in research as it affects the way questions are asked and the way the material is reflected upon (Davies & Dodd, 2002; Cohen & Crabtree, 2008). More so, a part of rigorous and ethical practice is to acknowledge the location and subjectivity of the researcher within the research process (Davies & Dodd, 2002). A discussion about ethical considerations and reflexivity, subjectivity and power will follow.

4.6.1 Ethical considerations. Ethical considerations were carried out for the interview and focus group segments of the research; however since human subjects were not involved in the collection of newspaper data, these reflections were not necessary for this aspect of the research. A lack of research exists on the ethical guidelines for studying violence against women, which Fontes (2004) argued is concerning given the increase in studies in this area. Nonetheless, given that this is a sensitive topic, I took extra care in abiding by the ethical principles of respect outlined by Robertson (2000): informed consent, confidentiality and privacy, beneficence (the benefits of the research must outweigh the risks) and non-maleficence (do no harm).

Participants took part in this study on a voluntary basis. They were fully informed about the study before they consented to participation, and had the right to withdraw at any time during the research process. Upon arriving at the interview or focus group session, consent forms and the tape recorder permission slips were distributed (Appendix D for interview and focus group consent forms). The forms were read aloud to participants and before signing, they were asked if they understood and agreed to the terms of the study. In addition, they were granted an opportunity to voice any concerns relating to the study. All audio-recordings and transcripts were filed electronically on a computer to which only the researcher had access. Brief information sheets were distributed, highlighting the severity of the problem of violence against women as well as detailing the counselling services available to them in their community and in greater Cape Town (Appendix L).

In terms of beneficence, attempts were made to minimise any distress and anxiety that the participants may have experienced. Participants who either experienced distress, wanted to withdraw, take a recess or switch the tape-recorder off had the right to request this. Some focus group participants often spoke of having had direct contact with violence, either through experiencing or witnessing it, which increased the likelihood that they may have experienced some degree of distress. There was one incident in which a focus group participant relayed much pain and grief in speaking about her experiences of being abused. After giving her the option of withdrawing from the group, she chose to remain in the discussion until the end of the session and I made it a priority to ensure that help was offered and made available beyond the confines of this research.

The confidentiality of all participants took precedence, and all names and other identifiers were removed from the data and replaced with pseudonyms. Furthermore, the participants generally expressed their gratitude in having the opportunity to share their

experiences within a safe space, which was similarly found in Waldram's (2007) and Sikweyiya and Jewkes' (2013) studies, indicating that the study did benefit participants to some degree.

The participants were offered shopping vouchers as tokens of gratitude for their participation. Steiner (2006) has argued that paying participants for taking part in research might serve to "influence choice" (p. 6). The communities from which the participants were drawn have high rates of unemployment and distributing vouchers as incentive for taking part in the study may have played a defining role in their decision to participate. In Paradis' (2000) research on homeless women, she argued that monetary payments for participation might serve as 'bribery' and be exploitative, thus non-monetary forms of compensation were instead suggested. Non-monetary payments may also be aligned with traditional codes of research that enforce voluntary participation (Paradis, 2000). Head (2009), however, argued that the way in which participants should be 'rewarded' for their participation is dependent upon the research project, and thus, only general guidelines should be given regarding participant payment. The current study utilised shopping vouchers as compensation, which served as a symbol of gratitude for participants' participation, yet the researcher was also aware of the high prevalence of substance abuse in the communities and felt it necessary to offer the compensation in the form of a grocery voucher. In a similar way, Chronister, Wettersten and Brown (2004) argued that in paying participants in their study on domestic violence, cheques were not given as women participants may not have been in control of their finances. Therefore, in the current study, participants were limited to redeeming their vouchers at their local supermarket, which still offered returns without risking the potential negative outcomes of monetary compensation.

Furthermore, this ethical dilemma of paying participants was most apparent with the recruitment of social network members. The incentives that the ‘seeds’ could have potentially earned may have led them to casually refer friends in their community without necessarily taking the criteria of ‘trusting and strong relationships’ into consideration. Head (2009) similarly noted that by paying participants, they might “tell us what he or she feels we want to know” (p. 342), while Russell, Moralejo and Burgess (2000) were concerned that individuals would lie about fitting the eligibility criteria. Head (2009) suggested that qualitative researchers ought to take this outcome of paying participants into account; yet did not offer suggestions regarding how this dilemma might be resolved. In this study, the researcher aimed to attend to this uncertainty by reinforcing this criterion through asking network members how they know the ‘seed’, however beyond this strategy, the researcher had limited means whereby to underscore this particular criterion. While the relationship between the ‘seed’ and network member may not have always been clear the networks that did participate in the study were members of the men’s respective communities, which was of the highest priority.

While it is important to consider the ethical impact of the research process on the participants, the role of the researcher in the co-construction of knowledge is an issue that should not be ignored (Gray, Williamson, Karp & Dalphin, 2007; Kvale, 1996; Wengraf, 2001). This draws the discussion towards ethical considerations of reflexivity and power.

4.6.2 Reflexivity. The practice of reflexivity is understood as a continual awareness of the ways in which researchers’ own “values, experiences, interests, beliefs, political commitments, wider aims in life and social identities” might impact on the research process (Burman, 1994; Gergen, 2001; Hiles & Čermák, 2008; Willig, 2008, p. 10). In a sense,

reflexivity is a way of working with subjectivity; however, Parker (2005) argued that the notion of subjectivity has often been reduced to the subjective opinion of the researcher and what he or she “really feels to be the case” (p. 26). Exercising subjectivity solely through subjective opinion has been reasoned to carry little weight and reduces subjectivity to something that only has meaning for the individual researcher (Parker, 2005). While one facet of reflexivity might be for the researcher to focus on the way in which they played a role in constructing the research, reflexivity could move past subjective opinion and pertain to issues of power relations experienced during the research process and in that regard, “aid accountability” (Burman & Parker, 1993, p. 8). More so, Hearn and Kimmel (2007) have argued that current social theory lacks a focus upon the gendered reflexivity of the author. There is a need to challenge this “silence on both the social category of men in social theory and men’s practices of theorising” (Hearn & Kimmel, 2007, p. 132).

Scholars such as Huysamen (2013) and Sandberg (2011) have, however, argued that a single reflexivity paragraph insufficiently addresses the extent to which the researcher and participant co-constructed knowledge. Boonzaier (2014) argued that the interview ought to be understood as a “dialogical encounter” (p. 13) actively shaped by the researcher and participant; and thus reflexive work should occur in the presence of the data. Research participants might also become the subjects upon whom the interviewer draws out intimate knowledge, yet the interviewers themselves do not disclose personal information of their own (Sandberg, 2011). The research process was considerably shaped by the reflexivity work of scholars such as Boonzaier (2014), Sandberg (2011), Sedgwick (2003), and Huysamen (2013). The transparency offered by these feminist scholars in their attempts to show their presence in the data was beneficial for this study. As I embarked upon the analysis for this

study, I attempted to illuminate my presence in the data through speaking to the unique knowledge co-created through the participants' and my interactions.

The analysis was also shaped by various readings. Similar to Sandberg (2011), I critically analysed normalising representations of violence; yet, also provided an affirmative reading for counter-ideologies, which were integral in moving beyond understanding what violence against women *is* in men's communities, as opposed to what it *could be*. Feminist work is well-known for its tendency to move towards explanations of male power and domination as lurking beneath men's talk, however, this form of analysis has implications for the ways in which change and disruption is conceptualised (Sandberg, 2011; Sedgwick, 2003). As argued by Bourdieu (2001), "When we try to understand masculine domination we are therefore likely to resort to modes of thought that are the product of domination" (p. 5). Hence, it is necessary to allow space for participants' marginalised voices and counter-discourses that work to undo stereotypical representations of violence against women.

Although my reflexive work is mainly carried out in the analysis and discussion chapters, I briefly begin here with an account of how I came to do this Doctoral study (Parker, 2005). I took an interest in the subject matter of men's violence against women during my master's research, which investigated the discourses of masculinity and change in men's talk about their experiences of attending a domestic violence perpetrator programme. The findings from my masters showed how men's change towards non-violence was superficial and that traditional gender beliefs appeared to remain intact beyond the programme. I argued that a change to non-violence may not have occurred because programmes tend to treat men in isolation of their communities and families who might still hold gender norms and beliefs that endorse violence against women. I embarked on this PhD research journey to take these findings further and to understand violence and men in relation

to their networks and the communities of which they form part. Having only researched men who have perpetrated violence against women in the past, I gained a holistic understanding through speaking to women as well, and reached new levels of understanding on the subject matter. This reflexive work will continue in the analysis chapters to follow.

5.7 Chapter summary

In sum, this chapter outlined the research methods for this study and the rationale behind the chosen design. A close examination of the analysis procedure was presented along with a discussion regarding the way in which the theoretical framework was integrated into the analysis strategy. An evaluation of this research was put forward with the combined consideration of ethics and reflexivity. The next two chapters present the analysis and discussion of the data. Chapter Five explores the social representations of gender and in particular, the interplay between the core notions of respectability, morality and reputation. Chapter Six relates to social representations of intimate partner violence and the related constructions of ‘perpetrators’ and ‘victims’ that were found to either perpetuate or guard against partner violence. These chapters address the research question which asks: *what* and *how* do social representations emerge in men and their networks narratives, and in the media’s discourses of IPV?

CHAPTER 5:

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF GENDER AND RESPECTABILITY

This is the first of two chapters that attends to the research question asking what and how do social representations emerge in men and their networks narratives, and in the media's discourses of IPV. Two varieties of social representations were found to emerge in the data, namely, those broadly related to gender and to intimate partner violence. This chapter speaks to the social representations of gender and in particular, the interplay between the core notions of respectability, morality and reputation, which were found to essentialise 'roles' for men and women. Chapter Six unpacks the social representations of intimate partner violence against women, and the related constructions of 'perpetrators' and 'victims' that were found to either perpetuate or guard against partner violence. Representations of gender emerged more prominently in the interview and focus group data, yet, rarely surfaced in the media data. Therefore, a decision was made to exclude the media data from this chapter, in order to place the emphasis upon the significant representations of gender emerging amongst 'seeds' and their networks. The consequences of this lack of focus on gender in the media will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

In this chapter, participants were not likely to recognise gender as fluid and open to the possibility of disagreement, diversity and transformation. Furthermore, the implications of the 'fixed' gender identities represented by participants will be explored as well as the responsibilities men and women have in obeying these 'gender rules' lest they be 'othered'. The chapter also looks at what this gendered essentialism means for men's change towards non-violence, and the circumstances under which men are required to depart from what is considered to be a reputable masculinity. A central argument in this chapter is that while gender might be theorised as a construction, it has real, material consequences for

participants in this study. The analysis and discussion chapters also emphasise that social representations of gender and IPV are inseparable from the struggles over identity experienced amongst coloured individuals in Cape Town.

Through Braun and Clarke's (2006) approach to conducting a thematic analysis as well as Stenner's (1993) work on thematic decomposition analysis, the following representations emerged: *Social representations of disciplining women*; *Women 'doing' masculinity*; *Representations of the 'moffie' as the non-man*; and *Representing change: A departure from reputation to respectability*.

5.1 Social representations of disciplining women

A series of scholars argue that girls and women have largely been the objects of public scrutiny, having their respectability censored under the watchful gaze of men and other women (Campbell, 1998; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Lindegaard & Henriksen, 2009; Salo, 2003; Thomas, 2006; Wilson, 1969). This ideological force has also been argued to operate as a patriarchal tool for men to govern women's behaviour (Campbell, 1994; Thomas, 2006; Wilson, 1969). This representation will begin to unpack the ways in which women's gendered performances are defined by respectability in current day Hanover Park and Strand.

The men in this study drew upon broader social narratives and showed how women's respectability might be monitored by men, which often involved 'disciplining' and abusing women. John shared his childhood experience of having witnessed brutal physical violence against women in order to "fix" them, and Craig observed how "men used to lay down the rules":

John: I see how men start to hit their women, stab them, hit them with anything they got in their hand. You see all that stuff, blood stains, and it's like, they want to show us how it's done, who's boss in the house, So all this stuff they say "I'm the man and you're gonna do what I tell you to do", so I must grow up like that, and what they do, I can do it also. You must fix things when you see. They [the women]³³ mustn't do that, they mustn't do that – you must fix it.

Taryn: And you fix it by-

John: Violence (Interview 1)

Craig: Men used to be men. Men used to lay down the rules that was in our house, right. If your man spoke, a woman kept her mouth. I think that was the first form of abuse, right and the way kids, the way that our parents used to handle us, if you done anything wrong, you get a lashing or something. Women was supposed to sit and wait for a man to come home. When he gets home, make food - "Go fetch my shoes, put on the TV", that's all, that's all part and parcel of it you see. (Interview 21)

Besides John and Craig, six other participants made reference to the way in which violence against women was anchored and objectified as being a male performance of superiority and authority. The idea of violence as a patriarchal measure of disciplining women partners has been documented in psychological literature, particularly amongst feminist scholars (Bograd, 1990; Brown & Hendricks, 1998; Campbell, 1992; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Dutton, 1995; Shefer, 2004; Wood, 2004). In particular, the re-presentation of

³³ Speech in square brackets adds more context to the participant's narrative.

fixing and disciplining women appears to echo the 19th century legal doctrines of coverture which granted permission for husbands to dominate and inflict violence against their wives, with the intention to discipline or correct their behaviour (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Marcus, 1994). The above cultural narrative of manhood shows how the men's significant male adult figures were reported to have modelled behaviours that constructed women partners as children who needed to be disciplined by an authoritative male figure: the "boss in the house". Craig summed it up with his opening sentence – "Men used to be men", as if the category of 'man' naturally holds power and authority. Such essentialisations of masculinity also reinforce the representation of men's violence as deterministic (Shefer, 2013).

In addition, literature has pointed to the intergenerational effect of violence. Some research has argued that witnessing or experiencing abuse at an early age can be associated with becoming violent later in life (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2005; Abrahams et al., 2006; Lisak & Beszterczey, 2007; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). The men's narratives of their own violence against partners appeared to mirror their childhood observations of disciplining and "fixing" women. As Mathews and colleagues' (2012) argued, violent men's search for a respectable and pure woman partner may relate to their need to attain a thriving masculinity, and may serve to bolster their manhood. This social representation of fixing women represents men as finding fault with their women partners' behaviours, and in order to keep them subdued and 'respectable' men would 'fix' them with abuse.

The loss of women's respectability in the communities studied was found to be problematised by social network participants in this study, particularly by the male social network members. In a Strand focus group discussion, the 'new' and modern generation of girls were represented as 'rough', with barely any respectable attributes:

James: There was a new generation [...] ³⁴ (today's young women, you get very few women that know what, by the name 'woman' - today's youth. Understand? I always say, I ask a girl the other day), that is a feminine - (you know 'street talk', that's all. [...] The women have lost that, that side. You see, very often a woman can be how pretty, if her mouth is dirty, then it basically puts me off and so on [...] the women's mouths of today are dirty and is some times worse than the men some times in this) ³⁵ area.

Clive: They must take their part in life back as a woman [...] (What he means is a woman that walks there, she does not have a feminine side, she does not have her worth) [...] The way they look at her, the way they talk to men if a man talks with them. Perhaps say I ask her, "sorry girl, will you give a light quickly?", "Why should I give you a light? You can buy your own light. Why should I give you a light? I am not your -" that attitude. (FG5; Strand)

James and Clive's co-constructed narrative of the wayward girl made reference to the respectability young girls and women are losing due to their "dirty mouths" and their bad attitudes towards men. They reasoned that women ought to project their "feminine side" if they want to be respectable in the eyes of men. When these 'gender laws' are broken, men no longer find the 'non-feminine' women attractive because they are argued to lose their "worth". Their interaction signalled a shared understanding of the 'disgraceful girls' in Strand and reinforced their status as the ingroup of men with a moral standing. As a 26-year old woman researcher, I might have also been perceived as an outsider, unable to fathom their

³⁴ Square brackets with ellipsis signals that text has been deleted in order to keep the meaning of the extract clear

³⁵ Speech in rounded brackets denotes translation from Afrikaans to English.

concerns as men. Despite the presence of another woman participant in the group, we were silenced in the above narrative while the men's voices dominated.

A feminist poststructuralist approach argues that the meaning of 'woman' is socially produced within language and has a plurality of meaning; however, it is James and Clive's language that serves to fix notions of what it means to be a woman. James and Clive's re-presentation of women echo biological assumptions about sex and gender, which may speak to the interaction between lay and expert forms of knowledge. Weedon (1987) argued that biological theories produce fixed subjectivities of femininity which "render the status quo natural and marginalize attempts to change it as unnatural" (p. 27). Indeed, women and girls who attempt to alter the status quo are excluded from the category of 'woman', and are represented as losing their 'worth'.

Clive and James are also adults in the community, which may explain their tendency to compare the older and younger generations and to impose their ideals of respectability onto the 'improper' youths of the community (Campbell, 1994; Duneier, 1992). Campbell (1994) noted that amongst Durban township residents it is a sign of respect for younger people and women to be submissive and compliant to older people and men, respectively; which may further explain Clive and James' assumption of entitlement over young women in their community. The network members also point to some disparities between girls' and boys' performances of respectability. In Bourdieu's (2001) analogy of women and men's bodies – and what he terms, *noble origins of self-presentation* (p. 17) – he argued that honourable performances by a man may require him to "face up to others and look them in the eye" (p. 17) using the "upper, male part of the body – facing up, confronting [...] looking at another man in the face, in the eyes" (p. 17). In contrast, some women ought to avoid the public gaze, and their speech is often confined to meagre utterances; yet, men's speech is encouraged to

be succinct and firm (Bourdieu, 2001). In a similar light, for James, girls and women are considered to be 'rough' if these self-presentations of composure and etiquette are absent: "You see, very often a woman can be how pretty, if her mouth is dirty, then it basically puts me off".

In the current study, much of the discontent with women was reported to be 'rectified' through men's use of violence against women. In returning to my interviews with the 'seeds' - although the men did not necessarily use the term 'discipline' or 'dominate' to depict their own violence against women partners, they drew upon metaphors that demonstrated the power they wanted to hold as men, and the submission they expected of their women partners. Ray, for example, drew upon a religious cultural narrative to show how women were treated within the Rastafarian group, employing metaphors of royalty:

Ray: You know, just to let her understand that I am the king. And she is the queen. If she let me be the king, she will be the queen. And I will treat her like a queen. Do you understand my point? That is how they [Rastafarians] say it. That was their saying you know. (Interview 11)

Ray represented a metaphorical depiction of a powerful couple signalling that if a woman is respectable and fulfils her duty to treat a man as a king - one who has authority, and is the ruler - the woman would then be rewarded and treated respectfully. Metaphors have been a subject of interest in literature on social representations (Hoijer, 2011), and in men's talk about their violence against women (Adams et al., 1995). Anchoring has been shown to occur metaphorically, because metaphors may make unfamiliar phenomena more easily imaginable (Hoijer, 2011). Wagner and Hayes' (2005) study on food surplus in the EU found that people used metaphors such as 'butter mountains' and 'milk lakes' to represent

this plethora of food. Adams and others (1995) also found that men who had perpetrated violence consistently used metaphors as rhetorical devices in their speech. They found that metaphors of anger, for example, imply that there is a limit to which a man should be expected to endure pressure or stress, which in turn allowed men perpetrators to reduce or avoid responsibility for their violence (Adams et al., 1995). Adams and colleagues' (1995) examination of the metaphors in violent men's talk shows the importance of paying attention to more subtle speech devices.

In terms of the above extract, Ray demonstrated the way in which his personal narrative is part of a larger religious cultural narrative by saying "that is how they say it. That was their saying". Religion and the church have been shown to have strong links with attaining and reinforcing respectability as it supports the legal institution of marriage (Wilson, 1969). Religion and the law may then be an important source of expert knowledge from which lay thinkers might generate representations of respectability. According to Moscovici (1984a) a consequence of the flow of knowledge between experts, the media and lay thinking is that expert knowledge tends to contain a moral feature. This moral system defines what ought to be considered acceptable and unacceptable (Joffe, 1998) and in much the same way, religion and the law may also reinforce moral binaries of good/bad. Ray also wanted to make me aware of the collective treatment of women in the Rastafarian religion. In order to maintain a positive self-image, Ray may have differentiated between being one individual amongst a 'deviant' system of Rastafarians who oppress women. This emphasis upon the shared knowledge of collective representations may have been used strategically for a number of men in the sample, in order to lay emphasis upon collective responsibility for the men's violence against women.

Another popular metaphor amongst the men was that of the symbolic representation of the man as the roof and the woman as the floor:

John: I tried to build a reputation for myself so um every girl – *ai*³⁶, I got a lot of girlfriends but they never last because. I abuse a lot of girls, young girls, I beat a lot of them. I brought up with it man. You are under my feet, I'm on top of you. You're on the floor, I'm the roof and I will cover you [...] (Most of the women think that it should happen like that. It's almost like a natural thing), a natural thing. A man hit a woman when she is wrong, just like that. (Interview 1)

John drew upon the floor-roof metaphor in which men are positioned as the “roof”, as naturally superior to women, while women are likened to the “floor”, something that men can walk over. He may also be drawing upon a breadwinner narrative. By positioning himself as the “roof” that will “cover” the woman, he might be referencing the popular breadwinner idiom of placing a “roof over one’s head”. Three of the men, across the communities studied, drew upon the floor-roof metaphor, which indicates that this symbolic representation may be part of popular consciousness in the communities. In fact, the two men even add that women in their communities share the belief that they are the floor, implying that women agree and consent to being subjugated and abused (e.g., Donny: “the women of today also, they believe they are the floor. Understand? The man is the roof, I am the floor”). It has been reasoned that ambiguous ‘talk’ allows a violent man to rhetorically position himself in consensual agreement with his woman partner, and Adams and colleagues (1995) termed this device, reference ambiguity. In the existing study, by speaking ambiguously about victims of abuse

³⁶ An Afrikaans phrase used to verbally signal a ‘sigh’.

as accepting men's domination, it blurs the victim/perpetrator categories (Boonzaier, 2008; Hydén, 1994), and the victim is no longer constructed as helpless and passive but rather as being in agreement with this social representation of disciplining women. As John reported, "A man hit a woman when she is wrong" in order to punish her from straying from respectable notions of being a 'good' woman.

In one focus group discussion, a debate amongst social network members, however, elicited counter-ideologies that resisted and deconstructed representations of disciplining woman. A lengthy debate emerged in the group below, which began as an argument about whether men provoke women or whether women provoke men into violence. However this debate soon struck emotional cords in the group, when Elaine attempted to resist men's representations of 'fixing women', and David was set off by the intensity of Elaine's views on the matter. David suddenly sprung from his chair appearing upset and possibly infuriated. In being uncertain about whether his outburst might lead to verbal (or even physical) aggression I stopped to enquire about his feelings:

Taryn: You upset about that? Are you upset? [talking to David]

David: (I am not angry, but the point that, that, that, that the lady wants to bring home that a woman must be looked after).

Elaine: (No, I am not saying)

David: (She must also be disciplined)³⁷

Taryn: A woman must be disciplined?

³⁷ Participants often employed language that condoned and justified violence against women. A number of extracts presented in the analysis and discussion chapters, will make reference to such language; however, at the end of the interviews and focus groups, the interviewer did aim to dismantle such language and indicate how it could be interpreted as encouraging and perpetuating violence against women.

David: (Yes, but, it does not always happen that she must be hit).

Elaine: (Yes I am not saying that you all must, the woman does not just want to be looked after. Do you all know how a woman serves the man? The one, no, she irons for you, she makes sure that you are neatly dressed when you leave the house. Hey? She says good things about you, she makes food for you, she says “that is my man”. If you come back, then they say, where is that *vloerlap*³⁸? Where is that *meid*³⁹. You all have no respect. You all must also look after the woman. She gives, she gives 100 percent in in a relationship and marriage. What does she get back? 20 percent?)

Elaine highlighted the disparity between the women’s treatment of men partners and men’s treatment of women partners. Even though women perform men’s desired duties and are the ‘good respectable housewife’ (Lindegaard & Henriksen, 2009; Salo, 2003) in return women are treated in a derogatory fashion and are referred to as *vloerlap* – a term used to devalue women and compare them to a dirty rag. Hearn and Whitehead (2006) argued that women are dehumanised through language such as ‘cow’ and ‘bitch’, which allows men to dissociate from their perpetration of violence and construct it as an impersonal act. As Hearn and Whitehead (2006) argued: “He is not hitting a woman – he’s hitting a ‘faithless bitch’” (p. 47). Elaine explained that even though a woman is obedient towards the man, he does not show her any respect, despite the level of ‘respectability’ she has performed. The above extract is indeed an example of the tensions and conflict within certain social representations that may open possibilities for resistance to dominant gender hierarchies.

³⁸ An Afrikaans term directly translated as “floor rag” but could also mean dirty rag.

³⁹ A derogatory Afrikaans term for women, roughly translated as ‘bitch’.

In sum, the way in which violence perpetration against women was anchored and objectified as a form of ‘discipline’ in men’s childhoods emerged in men’s narratives of male entitlement. As children, they learnt it was a man’s job to “fix” unruly women and in adulthood these beliefs were reinforced through community representations of the king-queen and the floor-roof metaphors. The ‘seeds’ may have drawn upon these community representations in order to indicate that their own violence should be interpreted within social conditions that sanction men’s violence against women. Despite attempts by a woman to problematise men’s treatment of the women, some male social network members were still found to demonise the ‘wayward’ women who appeared to be ‘betraying’ the respectable code of conduct expected of women in their community. The next representation highlights the way in which women empowerment ideals were also criticised by participants for straying from traditional feminine roles that ensured respectability was attained and maintained.

5.2 Betraying respectability: Women ‘doing’ masculinity

Respectability was also challenged by representations of women’s performativity of masculinity. Since women’s performance of respectability is defined by their willingness to serve men and be feminine, performing masculinity emerged as a shameful act – as women’s betrayal of morality and respectability. Contemporary discourses of women’s empowerment positions women as equal to men, thereby deconstructing traditional notions of respectable and subordinate women. Gqola (2007) has argued, however, that discourses of women’s empowerment are often spoken about in non-transformative and conservative ways that make it clear that “South African women are *not* empowered” (p. 115). The statistics for gender-based violence, rape, metaphorical and public displays of misogyny are a few issues that exist

to confirm that women are still subordinated (Gqola, 2007). Social and political representations of women doing masculinity emerged in this study, and are shown to have a negative impact on the gender order within the communities studied, including the likely outcome of the abuse of women. These representations include: *“Wine speaks truth”*: *representations of liquid courage and the improper woman*; *Social representations of women providers*; and *The protection order and women empowerment: Representing women as ‘abusing’ men*.

5.2.1 “Wine speaks truth”: Representations of liquid courage and the improper

woman. The trajectory of research on substance abuse and its disinhibiting effect in the perpetration of violence has made a substantial contribution to literature on men’s violence against women (see Abrahams et al., 2006; Armstrong, 2000; Field et al., 2004; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes et al., 2002; Klevens et al., 2007; Lisak & Beszterczey, 2007; Parrot et al., 2012; Rich & Grey, 2005; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009; Stith et al., 2004; Stoner et al., 2007; Strebel et al., 2006; Tang & Lai, 2008) and was also found to have a considerable presence in this study’s data. The idea that alcohol reduces fear is a dominant discourse across the world (Stoner et al., 2007) and in the current study, nine out of 11 men made some kind of reference to the belief that substance abuse is the root cause for theirs and other’s violence perpetration as if it were an instance of ‘liquid courage’. Liquid courage (sometimes referred to as Dutch courage) is the popular idiom referring to the “alcohol-induced fear reduction” (Stoner et al., 2007, p. 228) that prompts actions that would otherwise have been repressed by fear (Parrot et al., 2012). In particular, the men drew attention to times when women partners might drink and how this instance of liquid courage gave them nerve to

speaking their minds. Donny, for example, relayed an experience about women in Strand, who drink and subsequently abuse men:

Donny: There's a story in that drunk person's story that he uses. Wine speaks truth. See. Because the one that tell the truth haven't got that, that power to tell you when there's no drink, you see. (She does not have the courage to say what she wants when she is sober, but now that she has a bit of alcohol, now she feels she is power. She is empowered through the alcohol and just then it comes out the wrong way, you understand). Then that's where they attack each other. (Interview 10)

Donny relayed a narrative about the drunken woman and the way in which she speaks the "truth" when inebriated. The woman is depicted as abusive because the alcohol gives her courage and "power" to speak her mind and to stand up for herself (i.e. "she chase him away"). The way in which a man might react to women's "power" is to "just smack her with one hand, down to the ground, because she's drunk", as Donny stated earlier in his interview. It might be argued that the woman is being disciplined into submission because being "empowered" and standing up for herself is a socially and culturally sanctioned masculine performance and is limited to men, not women. Through Donny's language, he may have adopted the strategy of "changing the victim" (Boonzaier, 2008; Hydén, 1994, p. 136) to argue that the masculinised woman is being abused, rather than the wife.

It should also be stated that Donny could also have chosen to tell me this story about the burden men bear as a result of women's drinking habits to draw some empathy from me as the interviewer. By emphasizing the abusive woman's anger and the man's calmness and quick response to the woman, he may have even re-established some form of integrity for himself (Masoni, 2011). I responded to Donny by making him aware that abuse, however,

can never be justified, whether it is the man or woman partner that perpetrates the violence (“Its abuse, which is not good, you know, it’s just, it’s never, it’s never okay to do that - what she’s doing to him and what he’s doing to her. It never is.”).

While drinking might be an acceptable and sometimes respectable performance for men, the subjectivity of the respectable and decent woman is never performed by drinking or being gaudy in public (Campbell, 1998; Enefalk, 2013; Goodhew, 2000; Lindegaard & Henriksen, 2009). Thomas (2006) showed how modern South African women in the 1930s who adopted masculine performances, such as drinking alcohol, were thought to have abandoned their duties as women. Within the milieu of the ‘new’ post-apartheid South Africa, such constructions of respectability and drinking still appear to exist. Jewkes and colleagues (2002) observed in their cross-sectional study across three South African provinces that women were more likely to experience partner violence if they drank alcohol and if they held liberal views on women’s ‘roles’. Furthermore, according to Ratele and colleagues (2007) young school boys from a township in the Western Cape area drew upon norms that constructed drinking as an improper behaviour for girls and women, and boys preferred girls who did not subscribe to these perceived ‘rough’ behaviours. In a sense, women who are intoxicated may be stripped of their purity – a quality that is profoundly associated with women’s respectability.

Donny also spoke ambiguously about both partners “attacking each other” whereas he said earlier in his interview that the man has the power to “smack her with one hand, down to the ground”. Donny might have constructed this perception of shared agreement or responsibility to displace full responsibility of violence from the man onto the masculinised women partners (Adams et al., 1995; Boonzaier, 2008; Hydén, 1994). The term ‘fight’ – or “attack” as Donny put it – implies reciprocity, and serves to create ambiguity between the

victim and perpetrator (Hydén, 1994) while having the added effect of placing agency onto the woman victim (Boonzaier, 2008). Some social network members in Hanover Park similarly mutualised violent acts between men and women partners:

Matthew: It happens on a daily basis. If I go to the terminus I see guys hitting his lady there. Because they're, all of them are on drugs man [...] Daily basis.

Megan: Even if they're drinking together also. Like on the yard they're drinking and now they're getting drunk and now they perform with each other now. And they hit, the guy hit now the [woman], "you can drink like this and you drink and so" and so and so on.

Taryn: Are they hitting each other?

Janine: No the guy hits the lady, "You can't drink anymore just go home". (FG4; Hanover Park)

The men's social network members explained that public fights between drunk or drug-abusing couples occur on a "daily basis" in their community, with the man "hitting" or "performing" with the woman in order to discipline her for drinking. These violent acts were constructed as mutual – particularly by Megan – in that both the man and woman often participate in drugging or drinking together in their community, and it consequently makes the subject positions of victim and perpetrator unclear if violence occurs. However, upon clarifying whether this violence that occurs between two drunken partners is in fact mutual, Janine explained that this violence is generally one-sided, with the man partner hitting the woman into submission.

In two of the focus group discussions, social network members however drew upon a popular idiom that showed intolerance towards men's violence against women due to the fragility of women's bodies:

Ricardo: Nothing that I do to that woman, she will not be able to fight back. Nothing.

Jade: There is no place on a woman's body to hit, I say every day. There is no place on a woman's body.

[cross talk]

Ricardo: With a little skill, with a little understanding hey? [...] If I hit on the right place, I hit that woman dead. (FG6; Strand)

This idiom – “there is no place on a woman's body to hit” – re-presents feminine bodies as fragile; yet by taking on masculine performances, these signs of daintiness are compromised (Søndergaard, 2002). The ‘rule’ no longer applies that ‘there is no place on a woman to hit’ because she no longer takes on feminine performances that grant her respectability. Lindegaard and Henriksen (2009) have argued that a discourse of respectability has a very likely outcome of reproducing symbolic and real violence. Symbolic violence emerges within a relationship of domination and often does not have a clear ‘perpetrator’ and ‘victim’, consequently making it difficult to ‘spot’ this violence (Bourdieu, 2001). In this study, the symbolic violence of which some women in the communities of Strand and Hanover Park appear to be victim occurs within the complex system of patriarchy. Women might be held within positions of subordination, which makes any demonstration of authority and power by women punishable by men and more widely by community members. The real violence that emerges from this representation of respectability is the normalisation

of subjugating and chastising women, particularly for those women who choose not to live up to the social expectations of their ‘audience’. Further representations of masculinised women surfaced in the data, which will be outlined within the next two sub-themes.

5.2.2 Social representations of women providers. Women who took up the performance of provider – an enactment predominantly reserved for men – were represented as problematic for some men in this sample. In the context of harsh social, economic and material conditions some men reported not being able to provide and support either their families or households financially. Hence, it was necessary that another household figure took up the task, such as women partners. Women who took up the bread-winner role and earned an income for their households were accused by some male social network members for causing their husbands’ “unhappiness”:

Riley: One of the things that causes a lot of unhappiness is, is the lady earns more money than the husband, then she also takes the position. I know from friends that that is the problem. She brings a bigger income than he and now she’s the boss, the boss and like ordering and that can be like, (what do they say), evil.

Lyle: And mostly it’s the women here in Strand is, is, is working and you know what I mean? You will see mostly the men is at home. Because the (factories and everyone, everywhere she goes, will take in a woman. So what can we men do now?) (FG2; Strand)

Women who disobeyed the gender norms by taking “the position” of provider were constructed by Riley and Lyle as “the boss” and “evil”. Literature does attest to the realistic

challenges men face in finding employment and also recognises that financially providing is central to the performance of masculinity (Mathews et al., 2014; Salo, 2007). However, the men's use of malicious language – in the case of the above extract “evil” – might construct women's positions as breadwinners as threats to their masculinity (Hearn & Whitehead, 2006). Through men's dehumanisation of women, they are also argued to relieve themselves from the responsibility of being provider and protector (Hearn & Whitehead, 2006). Riley and Lyle position women as the immoral characters in this provider narrative through the term “evil”, whilst men partners are positioned as respectable and as those who are not thwarting gender norms. Foucault's (1977) notion of disciplinary power may be operating here, in its ability to produce women who adhere to traditional forms of femininity through psychological, emotional and physical abuse. Mechanisms of power become associated with the abnormal individual and work to label and alter the person (Foucault, 1977). As noted by Gavey (1996) processes of normalisation provide a space within which disciplinary power might operate to produce particular behaviours.

Riley and Lyle's co-constructed narrative of the masculinised woman provider could also be read within the context of the antifeminist or “pro-male” (p. 13) responses to the discourse of gender justice, which eschews gender equality (Kimmel, 1987). Morrell (2001) found that one of the ways in which South African men might respond to changes in the gendered and political climate is to react defensively arguing that these attempts to oppose change may be a way for men to reinstate their status and power. As argued by Gqola (2007), the ‘women's empowerment’ offered to South African women only appears to apply to women in public spaces, such as the work place, whereas “dominant gender-talk” (p. 116) that limits women's performances are reserved for other social spaces.

Counter-ideologies of gender equality, however, emerged in which social networks spoke to the necessity of having women take up the position as providers. While male network participants were more likely to condone representations that painted provider women in a negative light, women network participants were more likely to represent working women as essential to the survival of their families and households:

Theresa: A woman must be stronger than that because on the other hand she must sit with all the children, all the problems alone.

Tara: (Like the man might not go work and then the women must always stand up, [...] even if no-one of the two of them work, the woman goes out to look for a piece of bread for tonight when the man won't even do that. He goes on with his drugs that he wants to do or he goes to drink whatever. And um, also as a gangster, he is either with the friends but tonight if he comes then there must be food, the woman must do that). (FG4; Hanover Park)

Theresa and Tara co-narrate shared knowledge about women's responsibilities in their community, and they fixated less on women's duties to nurture masculinity and more upon the strength that women must inhibit in order to sustain their families. Jewkes and Morrell (2012) similarly argued that as heads of households, South African women have reproduced strong femininities in the will to survive and protect their children, whilst submitting to men's patriarchal control. In this study, women's duties are represented as dynamic, which involve so-called feminine responsibilities to serve men partners and to provide for their families. Theorists such as Erasmus (2001) and Skeggs (1997) have drawn attention to the pressures and responsibilities that women carry in order to maintain their respectability. Salo (2003, 2007) argued that coloured women have in the past – and continue to be – central to the

upkeep of their families and households' health and well-being as it is mainly them who receive welfare from the State. The data from the present study, however, also speaks to the struggles women endure in maintaining these standards of respectability.

Tara also reported that when men are not able to find employment, they are argued to become complacent, and are likely to turn to alcohol and drugs. In terms of an affirmative reading of the data, masculinity theorists have conceded that the pressure and failure to 'perform' as providers leaves men seeking resolve in high-risk activities such as drinking alcohol, drugs and violence towards 'weaker individuals' (Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Bourgois, 1996). Salo (2007) and Walker (2005) have drawn attention to young South African men and their shared concerns about their 'roles' as providers in their families and households, especially given the rising unemployment. Salo (2007) reflected upon the way in which economic capital affects men and women in Manenberg, a Cape Flats community. She argued that men who seek employment find themselves up against structural barriers and a lack of education plays a pivotal role in failing to secure employment. The feminisation of the workforce left room for coloured, working class women to become breadwinners, while men have become marginalised in the local economy (Salo, 2007). This lack of employment available to men may also have serious implications for their attainment of respectability (Wilson, 1969). Indeed, this representation of the provider could be interpreted through affirmative readings of both men and women's experiences in seeking employment and ensuring survival.

Jeremy was also one of the few 'seeds' who provided a counter-narrative of the masculinised woman. Jeremy illustrated how school boys might deal with bullying by going for "the fight" and argued that in men's adult years, they may take on the same problematic response to women partners:

Jeremy: The problem isn't the woman, it's him. But if he himself doesn't know how to cope, like if your wife would one day say that words that that boys used in school that would hurt you and make you cry. And you know when they said it you would go for the fight. But now she's in front of you and she's saying these words, now she's getting the punches. At school they will call you "You're a loser". That was, was that wives use when the men doesn't do what they feel, you know, "You a loser, you amount to nothing, you still your mommy's boy" [...] but the action is the same action with the other boys, with the schoolboys they're trying to break down your self-esteem. (Interview 17)

Jeremy constructs and compares men's inabilities to handle feelings of vulnerability and failure in adulthood to childhood experiences of having been teased in school. Masculinity theorists have made reference to boys' fears of being teased and bullied for being 'soft' or a 'girl' (Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman, 2003; Jordan, 1995; Phoenix, Frosh & Pattman, 2003). As Kimmel (1994) so fittingly observed:

I have a standing bet with a friend that I can walk onto any playground in America where 6-year-old boys are happily playing and by asking one question, I can provoke a fight. That question is simple: 'Who's a sissy around here?' Once posed, the challenge is made. One of two things is likely to happen. One boy will accuse another of being a sissy, to which that boy will respond that he is not a sissy [...] They may have to fight to see who's lying. (p. 131)

Although Kimmel (1994) was referring to US masculinities and his terminology may differ across contexts, his analogy may similarly apply to the South African context, specifically to the narrative presented by Jeremy. This fear of not being perceived as a ‘real’ man may also be inter-generationally transmitted, according to Ratele (2013b), in that a young black man’s fear might be derived from having seen those men before him degraded to “boys” (p. 257) through the racist oppressive system that shaped South Africa’s past and present. Jeremy furthermore argued that if men do not possess the tools with which to “cope” with their feelings of inadequacy, they would immediately “go for the fight”. In a similar vein, Walker (2005) found that the South African men in her sample found it challenging to withstand the pressures from women partners, who expected men to conform to hegemonic notions of masculinity, such as being the primary breadwinner. Scholars such as Hunter (2010) and Jewkes and Morrell (2012) have argued that some South African women are socialised to understand manhood as anchored within notions of respect, the possession of resources and danger. What seems to be unsaid and silenced in Jeremy’s narrative of masculinity is that even though he says “the problem isn’t the woman, it’s him”, women partners should still be made aware that their nasty name-calling will most likely provoke men into abusing them. This glimpse into narratives about women’s abuse of men sets the scene for the next representation, in which men partners accuse women of being abusive with their utilisation of protection orders.

5.2.3 The protection order: representing women as ‘abusing’ men. Women’s masculine performance was argued by participants to extend as far as their handlings of the protection order. The purpose of the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 (DVA) is to provide victims of violence maximum protection by the law as well as the right to equality, freedom

and security; and to this end, victims of abuse are entitled to apply for a court protection order. Women were however constructed by male network members in this study as using their protection orders to control men intimate partners, and they were accused of becoming abusive:

Riley: I know of a situation that women comes with interdict. And after they got an interdict, if she comes out of work she can buy a box of beer and she come drink with her friends there. The husband come home, he can say nothing. (“Shut up. You must remember that the *boere* [translation: police] will come for you. You will sleep nicely this weekend”)

[Cross-talk and other men participants agree] (FG2; Strand)

I began the above exchange by asking the social network participants why women abuse men and Riley’s response signalled that women’s mere ‘masculinised’ use of the protection order against men partners is perceived to be abusive, due to its powerful ability to control men’s behaviour. As Riley reported, the husband “can say nothing” about the woman’s use of the interdict to threaten and make the man submissive, lest he returns to a prison cell for the weekend. Some of the other male social network members agreed with Riley’s constructions of the scheming, masculinised woman and women were even accused of intentionally provoking men to get men re-arrested.

This representation was most prevalent in Focus Group Two, which was composed of eight participants, seven of which were men. Gender was found to play an integral role in this group discussion, as well as others in the sample. With the majority of participants being same-sex, it represented an important example of how gender was central to the anchoring

and objectification of social representations. The more agreeable features of same-sex groups made it more likely that representations would be shared and reinforced. This support that is offered in same-sex groups may also be symbolic of the way in which male social network members might support their male peers, possibly beyond the focus group as well. In the current study, it was in the presence of same-sex groups that dominant representations of masculinised women as abusing the protection order came to be anchored and objectified, and were made more explicit. Furthermore, my response to the above exchange was to draw attention to the reasons behind Riley's partner's application for the protection order ("So why did she take it out?"). However, my questioning of Riley's motives led him to reclaim his masculine dominance by speaking to his violent history and mentioning his earlier membership with the 28s gang⁴⁰. It may be argued that Riley attempted to reinforce patriarchal relations within the group in which women are silenced by men.

Counter-representations emerged amongst some network members. Ruth reported being a loyal reader of the *Daily Voice* and after reading about tragic cases of intimate femicide, she argued that women need to be "firm" with their protection orders:

Ruth: You know I've been reading The Voice now for quite a while and it shocks me, because you read of women being killed by their menfolk. The police want us as women to come tell them "come help me, I'm in trouble, my husband this and my boyfriend that". Now the womenfolk they go, some of them, they brave enough, go to the police [...] most of the women that goes and reports these men they get hurt by them. So people, women are afraid nowadays to go to the police and say my partner is hurting me, or he is doing this, or he is doing that, because they are afraid to go forward. Because they see in The Voice every time the women that gets to report

⁴⁰ A notorious prison gang, known to operate in the Western Cape prison of Pollsmoor.

these things gets, dies or got murdered or whatever by their menfolk. [...] (Now what must the woman do? What must the woman do?). I still stand firm with my (interdict), because my (interdict) is a very strong (interdict) [...] it depends on how strong it is. (FG7; Hanover Park)

Based upon Ruth's monologue above, it might be inferred that the messages in the *Daily Voice* are internalised by victims of violence, making them aware of the defectiveness of the protection order and the added dangers of threats by men partners. Furthermore, a body of local research suggests that the South African justice system is ineffective in its capacity to address violence against women (Mathews & Abrahams, 2001; Gopal & Chetty, 2006), which speaks to the urgency for women to be protected from violence. Although Riley spoke about the helplessness men feel under the control of the protection order, the contrasting reports in the *Daily Voice*, according to Ruth, tell a different story about the anger and the violence that the protection order induces in men. Ruth later shared her experience of having taken out a protection order against her son – a drug addict who was described as being a danger to Ruth and her grandchildren. Ruth's use of language, such as "strong" and "stand firm" constructs her use of the protection order as having much conviction. Ruth makes the argument that a protection order cannot work alone - the power that the protection order holds is equivalent to the assurance and authority that the woman holds. This may explain why some women who hold protection orders are positioned as masculine as it is their self-assured conviction that reinforces the functioning of the order. Her narrative of women's rights positions women as victims of a lacking justice system, whilst other social network members position men as victims of a justice system that favours women. The gendered representation of women's rights does indeed speak volumes about the way in which men

might employ such representations to remain ‘victims’ rather than to acknowledge their perpetration of violence.

In sum, masculinised performances by women were verbally and sometimes physically, chastised by men and some of their network members. Drinking alcohol was strictly forbidden if women desired to call themselves respectable, whilst women who were forced to become providers for their families encountered name-calling and condescending language by men, due to their performances of masculinity. Representations of respectability had the effect of limiting women’s agency, an argument also supported by Campbell (1998). Furthermore, women who took out protection orders were accused of using this symbol of power to control men into submission, which furthermore served to threaten their men partners’ masculinities. Women social network members, however, argued that if women are in possession of protection orders, they ought to be fully utilised. While the present representation highlighted the way in which women’s respectability is monitored by men, men were also found to be monitored in their performances of reputable masculine behaviours, which will be illustrated in the next representation.

5.3 Representations of the *moffie* as the non-man

Since 1994, it has been a goal of the South African state to drive gender equality (Morrell, 2001). However, changes in the state in the 1990s also reflected changing gender values and ‘roles’ (Walker, 2005; Xaba, 2001). For example, violence in the struggle against oppression was considered gallant and necessary, but in the ‘new’ South Africa this violence is criminal, illegal and damaging. As Xaba (2001) showed, the political transformations in South Africa have influenced the extent to which young African men have become involved in violence

and criminal behaviours, suggesting that they have been “transformed in the public mind from heroes to villains” (Morrell, 2001, p. 21).

In current day South Africa, the perpetration of violence has continued to define some forms of masculinity. In the current study, the avoidance of vulnerability and weakness was important for the men in their performance of masculinity, and it served a significant purpose in earning respect and achieving a reputable masculinity in their communities. Subjectivities of brave men were marked in men’s narratives of violence. Learning how to survive in conditions where men are expected to be emotionally brave and physically strong was argued to leave little space for vulnerabilities and speaking about their feelings – something that was instead constructed as a disreputable performance. A Strand resident, Lloyd, narrated how men might be ‘othered’ and disrespected if they chose to oppose and exclude themselves from this social representation that encourages a violent masculinity:

Lloyd: You know Taryn that is almost like, in our community, if you’re not a violent person, people don’t respect you. They don’t respect you.

Taryn: So respect is earned through violence?

Lloyd: Through violence yes, because I had chosen to lead my life like this, there’s another very painful (thing) word, name they call me and it is *moffie*. But the (thing) is man, to be a gentleman is almost like people don’t understand the meaning of the word gentleman.

Taryn: Do they call you *moffie*?

Lloyd: Yes. But the thing is I’ve changed it and they call me (Wolf) now. [Laughs] But the thing is I had to get violent to change it. You see, you understand what I’ve done here.

Taryn: So if you want to be a ‘real’ man -

Lloyd: It must be violent.

Moffie is a derogatory Afrikaans term for a homosexual or a weak feminised masculinity (Lindegaard, 2009; Ratele et al., 2007) and four ‘seeds’ made reference to representations of the *moffie* in their interviews. In Lloyd’s experience of interacting in a gentlemanly fashion, his performance of masculinity was outside the category of a respected masculinity: a form of masculinity that Lloyd constructed as less esteemed amongst Strand residents. A series of local and international research has constructed the masculine performance as primarily the avoidance of feminine performances (Bourdieu, 2001; Gibson & Lindegaard, 2007; Jordan, 1995; Kimmell, 1994; Lau & Stevens, 2012; Ratele et al., 2007). As noted by Bourdieu (2001), the “worst humiliation for a man is to be turned into a woman” (p. 22) especially following the potential sexual humiliation, jokes and accusations of homosexuality. Studies by Gibson and Lindegaard (2007) and Ratele and colleagues (2007) found that school boys from townships in South Africa constructed a feminine masculinity (also referred to as “moffie”, p. 139) as more offensive to the boys than a gay sexuality. If township boys refused to use violence or stay indoors they were more easily feminised. In middle-class white schools, however, ‘soft’ boys did not find it as challenging to convince others of their masculinity and could still perform a ‘soft’ masculinity while escaping a feminine label (Gibson & Lindegaard, 2007). Gibson and Lindegaard’s (2007) findings lend more insight into the contextual significance of the performance of masculinity, and the way in which it is perceived differently across settings.

In reflecting on Lloyd’s extract above, the label of moffie generated much discomfort for him. Gaining and maintaining respect was central to his narrative of violence and despite

his preference for being constructed as a “gentleman” he found that being violent earned him more respect, and the less “painful” nickname of Wolf. Lloyd’s narration is an example of Foucault’s (1988) technology of the self, in which Lloyd attempts to change his own conduct and actions in order to attain a more desirable reputation, status and thus, nickname (Wilson, 1969).

My interaction with Lloyd in this extract should also be unpacked. My approach to interviewing might have been best described as an attempt to nurture mutual respect, empathy and non-judgment – approaches noted by Boonzaier (2014) and Hydén (2014) to be widely employed in qualitative interviews. In addition, I might have also been *invested* in hearing a particular story about change towards non-violence by the ‘seeds’ (Boonzaier, 2014). At times, I was at fault for making assumptions about our shared knowledge when it came to men’s narratives of their violence, and even at times, imposing my own meanings onto their stories. A prime example of such an instance was when I interjected in the above extract with, “So if you want to be a ‘real’ man”, in which I reinforced this discourse of ‘real’ manhood, instead of challenging it. My response was grounded in much of the literature I had read about hegemonic masculinity, and even though Lloyd did not mention this notion of a ‘real’ man during our interview, I attempted to pre-emptively categorise his narrative according to this literature.

Boonzaier (2014) also argued that it is critical to explore how the interview context shapes what is being said. Within our interview, Lloyd might also have been performing ‘chivalry’ in wanting to be perceived as a gentleman, while positioning me within a traditional feminine discourse as gentle and nurturing (Boonzaier, 2014; Presser, 2005). As a 26 year-old woman at the time of the interview (I was almost 10 years Lloyd’s junior), my positioning as a naïve woman researcher may have also been amplified. Our interview

encounter may indeed have acted as an opportunity for Lloyd to fulfil his agenda – to justify his violence and position it as an obligation rather than a choice.

Other literature may also assist in illuminating another interpretation of Lloyd's representation of the *moffie*. In Whitehead's (2005, p. 416) investigation into two ideologies of masculinity, namely the hero and villain, it was said that:

The individual man may prove his manhood equally well from the Villain position as from the Hero position, albeit at the potential cost of social sanctions [...] the Villain reflects, rather than negates the Hero, and vice versa. [*italics in original*]

The hero (and even the villain) is described as being brave, courageous and willing to fight. According to Whitehead's description of the hero subjectivity, the opposite of the hero or villain masculinity would be the non-man – the one who is defined as the coward and who fails to position himself as either a villain or hero (Whitehead, 2005). Whitehead's (2005) formulation of the villain and non-man may indicate that men's representations of the *moffie* were anchored in binaries (Hojjer, 2011; Olausson, 2011); thereby emphasising the polarisation of one respected masculinity against the disreputable *moffie*. Theorists have claimed that making sense of phenomena is driven by the ability to negate and think in oppositions, dualisms, dichotomies and antinomies (e.g., life/death, us/them, good/bad, freedom/oppression); yet these identity categories allow for the exclusion of the so-called 'other' (Billig, 1993; Douglas, 1970; Marková, 2003; Olausson, 2011; Søndergaard, 2002). As noted by Foucault (1977), exercising individual control and disciplinary power through binary divisions defines how the individual is to be recognised and monitored by others. Since men and women are often constructed as binary opposites, in subscribing to the male category, a man would need to avoid feminine performances of gender (Andersson, 2008).

Whitehead's (2005) conceptualisation of the non-man furthermore resonated with Donny's constructions of masculinity in the current study, and Donny added that these 'feminised' men should expect nothing less than to be physically disciplined by their woman partners:

Donny: Women abuse the men, yes.

Taryn: What do you mean by that?

Donny: Because the men love that woman so much, women give them bad words, smack him, she abused him, she drink and go on like the way she want, go on and come and swear at him. He's like a child to her, because of the love he's got for her.

Taryn: Does he hit her as well?

Donny: He don't hit her. Because he is so, his love for her, but she take him out he's like a- sorry, he's like okay.... [Hesitant to complete his sentence]

Taryn: What's that?

Donny: [Laughs] No I don't want....He's like a lady, he's like you see, he's a *moffie*.
(Interview 7)

Donny explains that loving a woman too much might make a man appear as though he is a pushover, 'softy' or an easy target, and as a result, the woman might take advantage of the man and become abusive. Donny draws upon the idea of heterosexual coercion, which may be explained through Foucault's (1988) technology of power, in which individuals are made to submit. Although he seems to have some reservations about naming this kind of man a *moffie* (particularly given my identity as an outsider who may not understand his humour),

he eventually says after a chuckle, “he’s like a lady [...] he’s a moffie”. Donny’s statement also speaks to the gendered aspects of violence (Boonzaier, 2008; Hearn, 1998a), whereby the act of violence is constructed as a masculine practice. His statement could therefore be interpreted as: it is only a “lady” who can be on the receiving end of violence in the context of heterosexual relationships, not a man. If a man is being abused, then it must follow that he is a *moffie*.

Donny’s interpretation of the abusive woman partner strays from some of the narratives emerging in literature. Women’s experiences of being perpetrators of violence against male partners have been constructed as a response to their own experiences of victimisation (Graves, Sechrist, White & Paradise, 2005; McHugh et al., 2005; Sullivan, Meese, Swan, Mazure & Snow, 2005). A body of scholarship has also shown that women’s motives for their perpetration of violence in the context of intimate relationships might range from self-defence, retaliation, expression of anger, attempts to gain attention and frustration or stress-responses (Dasgupta, 2002; Straus, 1999). Graham-Kevan and Archer (2005) found a strong association between women’s use of aggression and the acts of aggression targeted at them. However, Donny’s narration of the abusive woman constructs her as a dominator who disciplines men’s performance of masculinity. Similarly, Walker (2005) found that men, who attempted to take on a non-violent masculinity, reported experiencing pressure from women who preferred men to subscribe to hegemonic notions of masculinity. Indeed, the participants in this study report that the man who does not abide by the socio-cultural representation of violent masculinity bears the consequence of falling into the feminine category, and becomes the one to be dominated and abused.

It should also be noted that through participants’ constructions of women as preferring violent men, they implicated women in the violence being perpetrated against them. The data

obtained from men's social network members shed some light on women's representations of violent men, and whether this kind of masculinity is favoured above other forms. It was found that some social network participants represented the violent masculinity as a more respected version of manhood. Upon asking the network members whether women are also abusive towards men, debates surrounding constructions of femininity and masculinity came into view:

Theresa: There is women who hits the men. You know you get some uh, men who's like, retarded, like say like retarded, the women just walk over them. If the woman say, "Adam just go wash the, the dishes or children" or whatever, then they do it. So then it's then sometimes the women hits then he don't hit her back, you know.

Duncan: But men say, the police don't do nothing to (for) them [...]

Theresa: This is a woman's world [women participants laughing].

Duncan: That guy did sleep so, so the woman did burn him with warm fish oil over his face. Because he say all the time his woman abusing him there because he's coming late from work and all that.

Faheema: So maybe he's a two-timer. (FG4; Hanover Park)

The group discussion above might be best described as a lively and good-humoured debate between two women and one man⁴¹ participant. The tone of the exchange comes across as more light-hearted than serious, with some playful banter, teasing ("it's a woman's

⁴¹ Although a number of the focus groups were composed of an uneven ratio of men to women, it was not my intention to secure an equal number of men and women. It was of primary importance, however, that these groups were composed of men's social network members – individuals who they considered friends or family in their communities.

world”) and laughter. The presence of this laughter left an imprint in the discussion as it had the potential to reinforce the extent to which men are marginalised and made to appear on the periphery in a “woman’s world”. Name-calling and references to mental impairment (“retarded”) by the female participants in the above exchange were common reactions to men who not only performed feminine tasks but also listened to women’s orders. Similar findings were noted in Bhana and Pillay’s (2011) sample of girls from a same-sex South African school. It was found that some of the girls conformed to representations of physically and verbally violent femininities, through practices of humiliation, teasing and name-calling (Bhana & Pillay, 2011). My response to the above discussion also seemed somewhat awkward in its attempt to validate both ends of the debate. I first attempted to defend women (“But you see, it’s not a woman’s world if the majority of women are being abused by men [Male participant laughing]”) and then in response to Duncan’s discomforting laughter, I attempted to validate the possibility that women might also abuse men, possibly endorsing Duncan’s attempt to minimise violence against women (“it’s, I acknowledge, I fully acknowledge that some women do hit men”). My response was too diplomatic since it merely served to validate the participants’ arguments, instead of reinforcing the idea that violence against men or women is unacceptable.

Bakhtin (1986) maintained that the cheer and happiness born out of ridiculing or rebelling authority was considered to unify people. Laughter may, however, also be a cultural practice. During times of great oppression, the practice of laughter was an important signifier of coloured culture, and the way in which this laughter represented protest and mockery of the ruling class (Soudien, 2001; Western, 1996). Such forms of humour may have persisted over the decades as Salo (2006) also found that self-deprecating humour was employed by coloured individuals in her study who endured years of social, racial and economic

disparagement, and used this humour as a tool to overcome emotional sensitivity. If Bakhtin's (1986) interpretation of ridicule and Soudien's (2001) narration of subtle acts of resistance were to be applied to the above debate, it could be reasoned that the pleasure that Theresa and Faheema took in their ridicule of feminised men may be a cultural expression of challenging and resisting the patriarchal social order.

Violence against men appeared to be furthermore justified by Faheema and Theresa by drawing upon a discourse of women empowerment ("it's a woman's world"), implying that women who abuse men are acting as empowered women. Scholars have long critiqued the study of gender and gender justice for its explicit focus on the interests of girls and women, whilst a focus upon men and boys is somewhat neglected (Elliott, 2003; Shefer et al., 2007). Although studies on boys and men have gained some traction in literature (Morrell, 1998b), Faheema and Theresa's representation of 'gender justice' suggests that ideas about gender equality are still grounded in women's empowerment at the expense of men. While this may be one example of how feminism – as a form of expert knowledge – might infiltrate lay representations of gender and women empowerment, it may also be an example of how the public might exercise agency in re-presenting expert knowledge to serve their own agendas.

Participants' narratives of masculinity and violence in this study speak to the way in which men's respect has been commanded from family, friends and partners through the use of force and violence. Walker (2005) similarly noted in her study that the South African men participants' relationships were predominantly "structured through violence" (p. 231); yet many of them searched for emotional stability and aimed to reject violence, in spite of their social circles that permit this violence. Bordo (1991) spoke to the way in which boys and men might be caught in a 'double bind' (p. 242) of information, feeding them multiple, and

sometimes, contradictory ideas of what it means to be a ‘good’ man. She added that boys are rewarded for aggressive and primitive behaviours and those who do not match those standards are humiliated. These contradictory double binds expected of real people, however, have been created through “*fictional* heroes who successfully embody both requirements, who have the sexual charisma of an untamed beast and are unbeatable in battle, but are intelligent, erudite, and gentle with women” (p. 242).

Counter-narratives of the *moffie* as the non-man were, however, also emphasised in men’s interviews. Men’s expressions of their own violence have been described as contradictory and complex (Hearn, 1998a; Wood, 2004); and similarly, the ‘seeds’ in the present study were found to have multiple, and sometimes complex, representations of masculinity and violence. Therefore it is imperative that some discrepancy is made between those representations that are merely mentioned as opposed to those that are practiced in everyday life and form part of the individuals’ worldview (Howarth, 2006, p. 68; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). In Robert’s progressive narrative of his own violence against his partner, he explained that in the past he did identify with the reputable violent man identity; however, at present he views the same men as “wannabe men”:

Robert: All this guys that’s running around with guns and hitting the girls now think they are men. I also use to think I’m a man that time. And but now that I see, now that I’m out of my situation that I was, and I’m standing on the other side and I can see what I, the destruction I did cause man, that time. Um, I don’t see actually that you are men that time, actually then you’re more then like a girl. You’re like a *moffie* I will say like, my daddy use to say, “you’re a *moffie* then if you hit a girl”. (Interview 16)

It was commonly found that men would deconstruct what is considered a ‘real’ man in their communities by narrating with a ‘before and after’ structure, as in Robert’s narrative above. As Robert said “I also used to think I’m a man that time”, and then he said, “Now that I’m out of my situation [...] I don’t see actually that you are men that time, actually then you’re more then like a girl”. Hearn (1998a) and Wood (2004) found that men who perpetrated violence would often narrate through the ‘double self’; as the violent self who committed the violent act and the non-violent self being interviewed. Sedgwick (2003) may have reasoned that Robert’s speaking-self yearned to divorce from the shamed aspects of his younger self. Robert also constructed the term *moffie* in a different way to which other men did, in that a man is a *moffie* if he commits violence against a woman. However, even in Robert’s narration, the *moffie* still represented the ‘othered’ category for doing masculinity. Hall (1997) referred to the process of attaching new meanings to old ones as *trans-coding*. Examples of trans-coding strategies include reversing stereotypes and celebrating difference by privileging the subjugated and oppressed groups in the ‘binary’ (e.g., Black is Beautiful) (Hall, 1997). Although the binary of man/*moffie* remains the same, Robert might be reversing the stereotype by linking the violent man subjectivity to the *moffie*. The category of *moffie* is then turned on its head and instead depicts the cowardly behaviour associated with abusing women:

Nathan: Actually many times I saw other guy (maybe) he fighting with his girlfriend and then I say him “don’t make like a *moffie*”. Why come here and why take her man when you know the woman had nothing on her to, to fight. (Interview 19)

According to Nathan and Robert a man who takes out his frustrations on women is a *moffie* since he would rather be abusive towards a “defenceless” woman, than to fight with

other men. The above extract speaks to men who assert their masculinity by being violent towards women – not men; which may explain why they are regarded as cowards, non-men or *moffies*. Therefore, although Nathan and Robert's re-presentation of the *moffie* does encourage non-violence, it is not necessarily progressive. This 'revised' re-presentation of the *moffie* may instead serve to reinforce representations of men as protectors of women as women are constructed as defenceless, and as the ones to be protected. This representation of 'protector' will be embroidered upon in the next chapter, in which it is argued that men attempt to conceal their discursive practices of male domination through drawing upon this representation.

In sum, the men reported how the performance of men's violence perpetration is encouraged and respected in their communities, by audiences which include men and women. Emphasis was placed upon positioning women in narratives as preferring men who are stronger and tougher rather than men who seem 'feminine' yet heterosexual, such as the *moffie*. This could have been perceived as a way for men to show that violence perpetration against women is widely accepted and tolerated, even by women who may be victims of violence. Alternative representations of the *moffie* emerged, allowing men to express different – yet not necessarily progressive – forms of masculinity that encourage non-violence; yet also serve to reinforce narratives of femininity that represent women as requiring men's protection. In addition, men's expressions of non-violence may have signalled acts of agency. The next sub-representation will speak to the challenges and internal conflict that men faced in assimilating into their social circles and communities as non-violent men.

5.3.1 Representing change: A departure from reputation towards respectability.

All the ‘seeds’ in this study signalled the desire to contest violent masculinities and to instead embrace non-violent masculinities. However, the process of change and achieving an alternative non-violent masculinity were at times narrated as arduous and grim. This change represented an ongoing struggle and conflict between ‘traditional’ notions of masculinity that strive towards gaining status and reputation, and that of the modern man, who Walker (2005) constructed as being in “control, respectable, rational, and responsible” (p. 233). This conflict between old and new masculinities was largely narrated through men’s relationships with peers and other community members.

As noted earlier, and reiterated here again, it was important for the ‘seeds’ to sever themselves from the rest of the community who might have encouraged violence. Robert attempted to emphasise in his interview that there are “a lot” of “wannabe men” in Hanover Park that construct violence as a route to manhood, which informed me - as his audience - that his violent behaviour was not deviant or immoral, but rather a social norm to which community members are aligned. Another example of this severance might be Donny who attempted to blame “coloured communities” for his mis-education of marriage when he said: “(In our coloured communities, we are incorrectly educated about marriage. We are actually not educated about it, understand?)”, while Lloyd simply accused coloured people of being “stupid” (i.e., “If you talk to people [...] they will tell you, “The coloureds are (stupid)”. Really, they are.”). According to Donny, “low class coloured people” reproduce the belief that men are superior to women due to their so-called lack of education. Lloyd and Donny’s negative impressions of coloured people also provided a glimpse into their perceptions of me, as a coloured woman researcher. The ‘seeds’ appeared to have no concerns about offending me with their talk about coloured folk, which might have implied that they felt I would

consent to their negative portrayals of “low class coloured people”, possibly given my privileged affiliations with the University of Cape Town. These encounters with Lloyd and Donny were indeed enlightening in providing insight into the racial and class dynamics of the interview context.

Howarth (2006) furthermore argued that an individuals’ representation of their neighbourhood signals their “affiliation, loyalty and identity” (p. 70) to that particular setting. Lloyd and Donny may be reproducing these negative stereotypes of coloured people in order to not only sever their affiliations with their community but also to dissociate from this stigmatising collective identity of ‘dangerous’ coloured men in order to take on a positive identity. Coloured men and women have been stereotyped within the “black, white and coloured imagination” as sexually promiscuous, gamblers, practicing public loudness (singing and dancing in the street), impure, illegitimate and untrustworthy, while coloured men, in particular, have been negatively associated with criminal behaviours, drunkenness, violence and laziness (Erasmus, 2001; Ratele, 2013b; Lindegaard & Henriksen 2009, p. 29; Western, 1996). Donny and Lloyd also drew upon these constructions of coloured people as lacking education, thereby reinforcing “child-like” stereotypes of coloured people as “ignorant, fecklessly irresponsible, and vulnerable” (Western, 1996, p. 23). Identifying as coloured may be linked to feelings of shame and discomfort (Erasmus, 2001); and Lloyd and Donny may be dissociating from the stigmatising collective identity of ‘dangerous’ coloured working class men in order to take on a positive identity and to attain respectability.

Scholars have noted that the working-class may strive towards respectability and thus a positive identity by emphasising class differences between themselves and other working class individuals, regarded as rough and unskilled (Duneier, 1992; Goodhew, 2000; Skeggs, 1997; Thomas, 2006; Watt, 2006). The men’s attempts to dissociate from community

members may also be seen as a powerful act of agency within the context of social and material conditions that may confine their raced, classed and masculine identities.

In terms of another interpretation, it may also have been the case that through doing non-violence, Lloyd and Donny may have become associated with a spoiled identity, most likely resulting in social exclusion. As Lloyd confirmed:

When I decided to change my life, people, they didn't want me to change [...] there was big changes that was going to take place in my life man, and it were almost like a threat to them [...] they are negative they don't want to move to positive. And anyone that moves to positive is a threat to them.

By taking on these subject positions of non-violent men and by 'othering' their communities, the men achieved a way of depicting themselves as moral and respectable, and their communities as immoral and disreputable. Keith also represented community members as the main characters in his obstacle narrative to achieving a change towards non-violence:

Keith: I mean there was one guy in our, in our, in our group [in prison] he was there for multiple rapes and he said to me one day, he said "Keith, you know when you leave prison, you're going to come back again man, because you're *gebrandmerk*⁴². Nobody's going to believe and trust you". And it took me, although this is a violent community, it took me a long time, still people still, people are waiting for me to, to abuse a woman or to maybe sexually molest a young girl, because there's a lot of young girls [...] and the young, the young guys who are gangsters would taunt me because they know I don't belong to a gang here. (Interview 4)

⁴² Afrikaans term meaning 'branded'.

When Keith was released from prison he found that members of his community were not expecting him to have changed and consequently, treated him with much suspicion. This kind of negativity and wariness of non-violent men was documented in a study by Hearn (1998b) in which men's male peers expected men to be violent, and an absence of this violence generated suspicion about their commitment to masculine ideals. Keith reported that the obstacle to being perceived by others as a changed man was due to Hanover Park members' beliefs that he would abuse women or molest young girls. Keith's inclination towards female friendships also made community members suspicious of his intentions. Ball (1970) argued that if an individual is dubbed as having a lack of respectability, then this label is most likely "irreversible" (p. 345). Ball (1970) used the example of men who having returned from prison are still perceived of as ex-convicts, "with the taint of prior lacks lingering on to structure presents and futures for those so labelled" (p. 345). As he explained, he was *gebrandmerk* as a prisoner, emphasising the permanence of his identity as a prisoner. Being perceived as a violent man in others eyes was argued to impact on the positive change the men could bring to their communities.

Lloyd also described people of Strand as living in the "past" while "the world is moving" forward, thereby reinforcing moral binaries of the traditional as 'bad' and modernity as 'good'. Lloyd represented the people of Strand as "uneducated" because community residents were reported to remain ignorant to the benefits of the modern non-violent man. Ratele (2013a) argued that subjects must be seen as positioned in relation to certain discourses of tradition, and as able to resist, reproduce or re-represent traditions made available to them. Feeling a sense of multiple belongings or feeling torn, as illustrated by the men in this study, may be attributed to their identities as oppressed peoples (Ratele, 2013a).

Weedon (1987) reasoned that consciousness – which is fragmented and contradictory – may be the outcome of a discursive battle for subjectivity. In examining men’s discursive conflicts in taking up new masculine subjectivities in the current study, an affirmative interpretation might show that the men were re-presenting and reformulating hegemony, rather than signalling a departure from it – a finding similarly noted in Wetherell and Edley’s (1999) study. Terry and Braun (2009) also assert that this “hegemonic sense-making” might be reflective of the “Western ideals of self improvement” (p. 176). If self-improvement is indeed a Western ideal, then men’s change towards non-violence in this study might signify a flight from modes of knowledge represented of ‘the past’ towards creating ‘new’ masculine subjectivities. Similar to the sample of South African men in Walker’s (2005) study, some men in the present study shared narratives of desire to not only have a more peaceful experience of masculinity in comparison to their fathers and other central male figures, but also to give their own children a different life.

In sum, the ‘seeds’ spoke to the challenges and internal conflict that they faced in assimilating into their social circles and communities as non-violent men. This change process involved much turbulence for some ‘seeds’ who were making sense of their non-violent subjectivities within the context of conflicting representations of ‘old’ and ‘new’ masculinities, a finding also shared by Walker (2005). It was noted how men, as narrating subjects, drew upon conflicting discourses of masculinity and violence, demonstrating the fluidity of subjectivity and the presence of cognitive polyphasia.

5.4 Chapter summary

This chapter focused upon social representations of gender, which showed the way in which gender was essentialised by participants. Men were expected to participate in reputable

performances of masculinity whilst women were expected to adhere to notions of respectability and to be 'feminine'. Women's respectability was also monitored by men, community members and in the media, and women's masculinised performances were used to justify men's abuse against them. In order to gain status and a reputation, men also reported having to perform violent subjectivities for their immediate audience of social network member and other community members. Violence against women as a social act is a significant finding in this study and its implication for community-based interventions will be discussed in the concluding chapter. There also appeared to be little space that might be afforded for new hegemonic, more positive and egalitarian masculinities; yet, some participants still drew upon counter-ideologies that questioned the 'gender laws' in the communities, signalling opportunities for gender change.

CHAPTER 6:

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE: VICTIMS, PERPETRATORS AND RESPONSES

This chapter unpacks the social representations of intimate partner violence against women, and the related constructions of ‘perpetrators’ and ‘victims’ that were found to either perpetuate or guard against partner violence. It highlights constructions of victim-blaming and the ‘othering’ of female victims of violence. In contrast, perpetrators are at times represented as being ‘protected’ in their immediate social circles, in their places of work, and in the media. The implications of these representations of IPV are explored, particularly in relation to how it impacts on the psychological and situational responses to violence against women in various arenas. This chapter also pays attention to an important feature of SRT by highlighting the interplay between media discourses and lay representations of IPV. The following representations are presented: *Representations of the ‘perpetrator’*; *Blaming the non-valid victim*; *Representations of newsworthiness and normalisation*; *The public/privacy of violence*; and *Representations of vigilantism and community action*.

6.1 Representations of the ‘perpetrator’

The paradoxical positioning of men ‘perpetrators’ as protectors and as the protected emerged strongly in this study’s data. This section will examine the ambiguities between the categories of protector/protected, and the conditions under which men are allowed to fluidly take up these positions in the *representation of the ‘protector’* and the *perpetrator as ‘victim’*.

6.1.1 Representations of the ‘protector’. Eight of the 11 men reported having been raised in abusive households and were forced to protect their mothers or siblings against abusive fathers or male figures in the home. Graphic and detailed portrayals of violence emerged in men’s narratives of their childhoods:

John: My step-father was also a gangster related guy. As little boys we were always to do things his way. So at night we come together, the boys make a big fire together and then we sit around the fire telling stories and so we make jokes and so on. And then one night, we we’re sitting there, boys telling jokes, my step-father he’s chasing my mother bare naked. Takes a piece of wood out of the fire and he hit my mother with it. And I think that is where my anger started. When he hit my mother I was sitting there, and these boys, they were laughing. And for me, it is not a joke man because it’s my mother. So what I do, I do the same thing – because he hasn’t got a t-shirt on, only a short – his body was naked and so, I did the same thing. I pick up a piece and I start hitting him. And that is where, he built something against me. Every time he had an opportunity to hit me, he do it. And I think that is where everything starts and as I grow up, I grow up with that anger inside of me and every time I get into a fight it coming out worse, tear it apart because I will never stop until something happen. (Interview 1)

John marked the start to his feelings of anger when he witnessed his step-father (a gang member) chasing and hitting his mother with a piece of wood. His detailed portrayal of the violent incident that happened many years ago was something that John could denote as the moment when his ‘protective instinct’ surfaced. John narrated his mom as the object of laughter whilst being abused in her vulnerable state. His friends’ laughter infuriated him even

more, and the anger he felt in that moment became a recurring response to perceived threats later on in his life (“I grow up with that anger inside of me and every time I get into a fight it coming out worse”). For John, violence was constructed as an emotional anchor to defend and protect.

Although John was able to retaliate and defend his mother, for Craig, protecting his mother was not always possible:

Craig: My mother has been in an abusive relationship all her life, right. He [step-father] stabbed my mother one day. I think I was, I can’t remember, 11. He stabbed my mother here and my mother just laid there and I was helpless, I couldn’t do anything. I remember playing in the park and he just came to tell me that he stabbed my mother. And I was helpless and I couldn’t do anything and all you know, I can still feel the rage that I had that day and now I can feel it. Yoh⁴³, to think about those stuff now [...] I always fought. I always fought back where, where my mom is concerned. I’m, I’ve always been over my mother. Always been, my mommy, my mommy’s boy. (Interview 21)

Craig emphasised the helpless feeling he had when he was unable to protect his mother, and similarly to John, he also expressed the “rage” he felt towards his step-father. Within his ‘warrior narrative’ (see Jordan, 1995) he reiterated how he always tried to “fight back” for his mother, which sets a strong contrast to the scenario in which he was unable to help her. Others have similarly found that some ‘violent’ men experienced abusive, broken childhoods involving parental deaths, harsh discipline by caregivers, emotionally-distant

⁴³ An Afrikaans expression used to convey astonishment, and can be closely associated with the English term, ‘wow’.

parenting, and absent fathers – complex histories that might have produced a particular sense of self (Mathews et al., 2011, 2012). In drawing upon a psychosocial discourse, some have argued that emotional insecurities emerging from childhood experiences may propel men into abusive behaviours in adulthood as their anxieties might be transformed into rage (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007; Mathews et al., 2014). Emotional vulnerabilities might involve the construction of ‘tough’ masculinities as some men might consider emotional expression to signal weakness (Frosh et al., 2003; Seidler, 2007).

In this study, the common characters in men’s childhood warrior narratives were their mothers (the victims of abuse), the step-fathers or biological fathers (the perpetrators and ‘villains’) and the ‘seeds’ (‘protectors’ and at times, themselves victims of abuse). In narrating about their own relationships in adulthood, ‘seeds’ in this study drew upon representations of chivalry as honourable and heroic acts to protect their partners. The ideology of chivalry is one that has been represented and performed for centuries, and originated as a code of behaviour for knights in the Middle Ages (Keen, 1984). One of the ways in which chivalry was performed was through the protection of women. In the development of the concept of chivalry, it is thus commonly found that scholars speak more broadly to this norm of the ‘protection of women from harm’ (Felson, 2002). Felson (2002) conceded that despite the early formulation of chivalry, today still, the contemporary man who fulfils his ‘duty’ to do special gallantries for women, might be viewed as a gentleman and chivalrous. The ‘seeds’ spoke to the abusive and controlling features of their protection over their women partners:

Nathan: At the times that I was there, preparing myself to go to work, she was in front of the mirror with the brush, her hair, her long hair in, putting on her clothes. I said, “This is mine man, this is what I treasure and now all of a sudden it’s thrown out

to the wolves outside, how can I protect her?” I don’t know what to do. The only way I thought I can protect her is beating her maybe will listen because my friends told me, “(hit her man, she will listen)”. (Interview 19)

Nathan, a police officer, constructed his ‘protection’ of his ex-wife as a way in which to control, and at times, abuse her. Nathan’s affiliation with the protector-hero masculinity might also have been influenced by his work as a police officer, and he added: “When you wear this uniform, you actually become a superman. That is how people see you. You will be able to do anything”. The performance of the chivalrous masculinity involves a readiness to defend women’s honour – in particular, women who respect and obey their men partners (Mathews et al., 2014). Feminist theorists have shown that an authoritarian relationship between parent and child may metaphorically depict the husband-wife relationship, in which the woman partner is represented as child-like and in need of protection (Boonzaier, 2008). The unequal gender positions and male domination evident in the husband-wife relationship were conceded to manifest through physical violence against the woman partner. Cock (1994) also situated constructions of women as the protected and defended within an ideology of militarism as these dualistic representations of the protector and protected serve to perpetuate sexism, and to police women’s behaviours. Furthermore, South African public and policy discourse, is argued by Vetten and Ratele (2013) to reproduce subject positions of women as vulnerable and in need of protection. Fine (1988) argued that a language of victimisation takes away women’s agency and control in defining their own sexuality and agency. Submissive representations of women may thus make it less possible for disruption, resistance and change (Gavey, 1996).

Shefer (2013) found that men perpetrators of violence may be allowed to fluidly take up the role of being “violently possessive” (p. 5); yet, at other times act as “proprietors of women” (p. 5). This was seen in the case of Oscar Pistorius’ killing of Reeva Steenkamp when he claimed to be protecting Reeva from an intruder. Some men may take up different masculine subjectivities, depending on the degree of control it affords them over women (Ratele et al., 2007), and depending upon the audience and context in which they find themselves. In some instances the men used the identity of ‘protector’ as a way in which to diminish responsibility for their domination over women partners:

Keith: The beautiful thing in this community is also if you are sincere with yourself, if everybody knows there’s this Rachel, born and bred in Hanover Park, Rachel has been going to school and now she’s at varsity, so Rachel also becomes that pride, Hanover Park pride. But Rachel mustn’t be doing, but Rachel mustn’t be doing funny things. But the moment she starts doing funny things, funny things is going to be happening to her. Like for example you maybe going to the Model C schools⁴⁴ and all the kind of thing, no, nobody knows, all they see is Rachel going to school and coming back. Now somebody discovers hey, but Rachel is doing crystal meth. Rachel’s got *this* type of boyfriends. Rachel is going to be caught one night and she is going to be gang-banged for undermining the men in the [community], because the men in that street alone, was very protective of her without her knowledge even. Very protective of Rachel when she was going to school and coming back at any hour and her friends coming there and the guys on the corner say, “Hey, hey guys, you don’t mess around here. That is our darling”. (Interview 4)

⁴⁴ Model C schools were reserved for ‘whites’ only during apartheid.

As Keith explained, women in Hanover Park who take men's protection for granted are 'disciplined' through being raped by multiple gang members ("gang-banged for undermining the men"). He spoke about a woman who is worth protecting as having "good values", in other words, she should not do "funny things" such as smoke "crystal meth" or have "*this* types of boyfriends". Indeed, what the men construct as 'protection' is rather a method of controlling women, and not just any woman, but one that has "good values" and one that might be conceived of as respectable. Keith's positioning of Rachel as the adolescent girl who disobeyed the men's expectations of her respectability resonates with Lindegaard and Henriksen's (2009) argument – that preserving respectability and virginity is key to being respected by the community.

Scholars have explored the various mechanisms that men employ to dissociate from their abuser labels, and to represent themselves as non-violent (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Goodrum et al., 2001; Wood, 2004). In this study men, such as Lloyd, even expressed some conflict in reconciling their perpetrator or 'villain' identities with that of the 'protector', when he said "I'm not [an] abuser of women, I'm very, I'm very for women, protecting them". This study echoes Wood's (2004) findings in which incarcerated men constructed themselves as protectors of women. This cultural "code of chivalry" (p. 569) entails that men respect women and take care of them, not abuse them (Wood, 2004). It may be more likely that this chivalry is afforded to mothers, daughters or even "women in the abstract" (p. 571), than towards intimate partners (Wood, 2004).

It should also be noted that Keith began this passage attempting to construct men's protection over women in a positive light, when he described it as a "beautiful thing in the community". Keith's positive representation of violence against women resulted in much

discomfort on my part and I interjected in an attempt to challenge this representation that conflates protection and chivalry with violence against women. Keith may have also been attempting to accomplish chivalry in our interview (Boonzaier, 2014; Presser, 2005) by relaying tales of ‘chivalry’ and positioning me within a discourse of traditional femininity. It indeed became apparent that in my interactions with Keith and other men participants, the men found a voice from which to represent their positions of power and disadvantage (Parker, 1992). Wood (2004) argued that the ‘man as protector’ subjectivity is more pro-social than ‘man as dominator’ in that the protector masculinity may be more deeply embedded in wider social relations, however, both these subjectivities also share the assumption that men are superior to women. Indeed, the taken-for-granted feature of social representations becomes an unquestioned part of social and shared knowledge. Even men, who suggest they are no longer violent, still appear to subscribe to the social representation of protector because it offers them a certain degree of control over women.

6.1.2 Perpetrators as ‘victims’. While the ‘seeds’ were more likely to represent themselves as ‘protectors’ of women, representations that construct perpetrators as victims were more prevalent amongst social network members and in the media. Although women may largely be positioned as victims, and men as perpetrators in discourses of violence against women (Harries & Bird, 2005); it is also a recent feature of theorising about men and masculinities that more attention be paid to men’s vulnerabilities and victimisation (Clowes, 2013; Ratele, 2013b; Shefer et al., 2007). The data in this study suggests that men ‘perpetrators’ of violence might be afforded special protection in news coverage, and amongst social network members who drew upon victimising narratives of masculinity. For example, the *Cape Argus* reported on a former member of the VIP Protection Unit, Sydney

Mangena, who murdered his ex-girlfriend (a parliamentary employee) Thobeka Vuso, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. According to the report, Mangena's advocate, Nicolette McKenzie, said that not enough "emphasis" was afforded to Mangena's "personal circumstances" during the court proceedings:

She argued that more weight should have been placed on the fact that Mangena was a 44-year-old first offender, grew up poor, had six children, was ordained as a priest in the Catholic church in 1978, had been a member of the ANC's armed wing Umkonto weSizwe since 1989 and was involved in a stormy relationship with Vuso (late wife).

("Killer begs reprieve from life sentence: ex VIP cop 'not inherently violent'", *Cape Argus*, 26 January 2012)

The advocate drew upon subtle rhetorical devices that attempted to construct Mangena as an object of external circumstances (i.e. "grew up poor", "involved in a stormy relationship"). The advocate placed more weight upon other aspects of Mangena's character, besides that of 'perpetrator', such as his position as a father, a religious man, and a fighter for democracy and equality. By taking emphasis from the fatal crime he perpetrated against his partner, Mangena's accountability for his actions may have been reduced in this report. As Buiten and Salo (2007) observed, the accountability of perpetrators of VAW was often silenced in their sample of reports gathered from South African newspapers (e.g., *the Star*, *The Sowetan*, *Die Burger*). The title of the article - "Killer begs reprieve from life sentence: ex VIP cop 'not inherently violent'" - already implied that violence was not an entity known to the cop. Psychological representations of a 'split personality' and pathologising discourses emerge briefly here, which may show that violence was an abnormal and uncharacteristic act for Mangena. Mangena is then constructed as a "victim of his own pathology and the

pathology itself as the agent” (Buiten & Salo, 2007, p. 120). In addition, constructing a policeman as not “inherently violent” might be considered ironic when violence is something that might be demanded at a moment’s notice from a law enforcer. Goodrum and colleagues (2001) argued that these strategies employed by perpetrators allow them to escape their label of ‘abuser’, and to instead represent themselves as non-violent. Beyond the report on Mangena, this representation that affords ‘perpetrators’ special treatment appeared in 10 out of 66 *Daily Voice* news reports in this study’s sample, and none surfaced in the *Cape Argus*. Some of these *Daily Voice* reports drew upon the pathological discourse of ‘crimes of passion’ (e.g., The passion ‘killer’) and the biological discourse of violence as an inherent male trait (e.g., “My natural born killers”), while others drew upon discourses of mental instability (e.g., “psycho killer”) and a disciplining discourse (e.g., “man kills *joller*⁴⁵ wife”).

Some of the men’s network members in the current study also attempted to position men and boys who commit violence in their community as victims. Men and boys who perpetrate violence were constructed as departing from their labels as ‘abusers’, and were instead represented as respectable individuals, victimised by circumstances beyond their control. Men’s social network members attempted to represent men and boys’ perpetration of violence within a backdrop of alcohol and drug abuse, gangsterism and criminal behaviours that were reported to be prevalent in their communities. Trauma narratives were common, and brutal interpersonal violence, witnessed by the social network participants in their communities, often landed responses of:

Faheema: Drugs was the main, the main, the main cause.

Theresa: The main issue here. (FG 3; Hanover Park)

⁴⁵ A slang term referring to the ‘unfaithful’ and ‘cheating’ wife.

Drug abuse as the “main cause” of ruthless violence was a featured response amongst network members. As noted in the previous chapter on representations of liquid courage, violence that is perpetrated under the influence of alcohol or drugs has been justified and excused by men perpetrators as instances of abnormal, uncontrollable, and thus, defensible behaviour (Abrahams et al., 2006; Armstrong, 2000; Field et al., 2004; Jewkes, 2002; Klevens et al., 2007; Lisak & Beszterczey, 2007; O’Neill, 1998, p. 464; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009; Strebel et al., 2006). Scholars have also connected the high rates of methamphetamine (also called ‘tik’) use in Cape Flats’ communities in the Western Cape, to the high HIV infection rates (Morris & Parry, 2006), and to the men’s violent sexual behaviour (Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). Indeed, drug abuse has serious implications for violent behaviour, but at the same time, the implications of these causal narratives of drugs and violence should also be assessed.

O’Neill (1998) and Dobash and colleagues (2000) evaluated men’s causal or justification-talk in allowing them to shy away from taking responsibility. Dobash and colleagues (2000) have maintained that men often talked about their change as being a progression from *object* to *subject*. Men who make a positive transformation from being abusive to non-abusive depart from the perspective that they are “*objects* of external events” (Dobash et al., 2000, p. 160). As active agents, men are thought to position themselves as *subjects* and in control of the decisions they make in abstaining from violence (Dobash et al., 2000). O’Neill (1998) and Dobash and colleagues’ (2000) work speaks to some of the many justifications men use in excusing their violence; but the findings in the present study reveal the way in which men’s social network members might use the same language to reduce men’s accountability. Hearn (1998b) argued that it can be frequently found that men’s family

members are either unaware of the man's disposition towards violence, they choose to remain oblivious to it, or they defend the man through social, emotional and potentially physical tactics. In much the same way, some social network members in this study still acknowledged the boys and men's respectability, in spite of their dependency on drugs and their violent behaviours:

Fiona: (They come out of good homes. I, I am talking now about someone that I know, that I know. Come out good homes, well-taught, Grade 11, did not get Matric. The situation in the house – the mother) left the house, (the father is alone in the house and they [gangsters] say “look here, sell drugs for us, I will buy you sneakers, and) a jacket, a name brand, this” (and so on). And that actually led to that child, a sweet boy and (I actually like him a lot, he's still well-mannered, that respect is still there for his neighbours that [live] in the street but they are trained to a level that they become violent).

Erica: Exactly.

Elaine: You know, so it's, it's, it's a vicious circle.

Taryn: Yes. It's a vicious circle yes.

Elaine: A very, very vicious circle. [...]

Tracey: (Ya, it is almost) the only choice. (FG1; Hanover Park)

It cannot be contested – the cycle of violence in communities like Hanover Park and Strand are real, material threats to residents. My response in the above extract (T: Yes. It's a vicious circle) to the women's co-constructed representations of choice and agency, aided to

affirm their lived experiences of the vicious cycle of violence that destroys the lives of their youths. Participants' constructions do echo current literature, which shows that gangsterism on the Cape Flats is a way in which marginalised men gain status, which allows them to be seen as a 'man' by other men (Gibson & Lindegaard, 2007; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Luyt & Foster, 2001; Salo, 2007; Ragnarsson et al., 2009). Although agency is important for demonstrating intention and men's choice in becoming violent, it is nonetheless defined and shaped by structures of power (Giddens, 1979). As shown by Salo (2007), 'choice' occurs in relation to people and structural conditions that influence choice; meaning that agency cannot be fully comprehended in the absence of a structural analysis (Giddens, 1979). Social network participants in this study do present victimising narratives that position the boys as 'objects' of this "vicious cycle" of broken homes, poverty and gangsterism. Furthermore in the above exchange, a narrative of agency was silenced when Tracey described this vicious cycle as the "only choice".

The women in the group also measure the boy's innocence or guilt by the respectable household that they come from: "he's still well-mannered, that respect is still there for his neighbours [...] but they are trained to a level that they become violent". The violent self of the boy is sidelined while his level of respectability and his respectable background considerably determines the degree to which he is considered responsible for his violence perpetration.

Some of the social network participants were, however, aware of the causal and victimising language circulating around the community, and hence, attempted to question and re-represent men as 'subjects' instead of 'objects'. These social network members were small in number; however they argued that without this language of choice, the men are essentialised as victims of poverty, violence, crime and broken families, with little

opportunity for social change. A woman social network member set out to construct men as active, accountable subjects:

Elaine: I'm saying that many of you [referring to the men in the group] hide behind the drug then the druggie says that they cannot remember anything. But if the druggie is sober, then you must just listen to what they say). Recall (just what they did and then they talk like blabbermouths to say what they actually did and why they said what they actually wanted to do to that person). (FG5; Strand)

Elaine argued that there might be a pre-meditated element to violence perpetration even when perpetrated under the influence of drugs. When the perpetrator is “sober”, he makes it known that he had the intention to perpetrate the violence against a particular person. Lindegaard and Jacques (2014) found that amongst their sample of young male offenders recruited from Cape Town townships, crime that was committed in order for men to impress peers, and gain a reputation was narrated through tactical and transformative agency. These narratives of agency served to position men as active agents rather than as victims of their circumstances. Men employed narratives of intentionality – rather than passivity – to justify their choices to gain masculine status, respect, and money through criminal acts (Lindegaard & Jacques, 2014). More importantly, this reference to intention has significant meaning for the accountability of action (Giddens, 1979). According to the above extract, representations that construct men as victims are argued by Elaine to make it effortless for drug users who commit violence to “hide behind the drug”. What may also be implied by Elaine’s reasoning is that boys and men’s perpetration of violence – while under the influence of drugs – can be mistakenly excused and defended by other community members.

Depictions of men ‘hiding behind substance use’ also formed the pinnacle of Jeremy’s counter-narrative, and some ‘seeds’ explained that violence perpetration while intoxicated was a way for men to act out their insecurities and vulnerabilities. In Jeremy’s drawing task, he drew a picture of a house, and proceeded to explain that men’s failure to achieve respectability sits at the core of violence perpetration against partners, while alcohol and drugs are only minor contributing factors:

Jeremy: The reason why I start with hate because if a man hates himself, that’s the start because he’s forever making a comparison with other men and he feels he doesn’t measure up you know, to their expectations. Especially when he hates himself, he will start lashing out at his partner, but the reason is he’s hitting his wife or partner, female partner is because of the hate for himself and with the hate, obviously shame comes in [...] With the shame you go and hide it behind addiction and you will feel so shameful you think, wait let me cover it up with the addiction and you start using. Now whatever it is – alcohol, it is drugs, but now you have an excuse why you are the way you are. There’s fear in that home (referring to his drawing), fear of the man that’s doing all these horrible things to his family and you will see that the roof is on fire. But on the flip side, if you look outside that house, everything is beautiful. (Interview 17)

Jeremy’s picture and personal narrative of vulnerability shows that while the exterior of the person (the house) might be “beautiful”, the inner world of the person might be pent up with “hate”, “shame”, “fear” and ultimately abuse. In addition, he mentioned in our interview that, “Now whatever it is alcohol, it is drugs, but now you have an excuse why you are the

way you are”, while other men, such as Craig, expressed how a lack of emotional expression may have driven them to ‘the bottle’ (Craig: “I also use drinking as a means of escaping”).

Similarly to Lindegaard and Jacques’ (2014) findings, the men drew upon agentic narratives to illustrate that they chose to drink in order to ‘escape’; whilst Mathews and colleagues (2014) also found that alcohol was consumed as a way for men to cope with their adversities. Alcohol consumption might be a more acceptable performance of masculinity, and possibly a more palatable excuse for violence, rather than displaying an aspect of masculine identity that suggests vulnerability. Scholars have problematised the lack of language around men’s vulnerability. Clowes (2013) has suggested that this absence of talk about men’s vulnerability may be linked to a dearth of popular language that verifies such perceptions of men, while Shefer and others (2007) argued that the discourse of men as perpetrators obscures perceptions of men as vulnerable. In this study, participants construct men’s avoidance of vulnerability and appearing weak as disguised by substance abuse and violence. In reiterating Elaine’s comment – some men may indeed choose to “hide behind” substance abuse.

In sum, the ‘seeds’ represented themselves as ‘protectors’ and at times as dominators over women partners, which was set in contrast to the child who had little control over keeping their mothers safe from abuse at the hands of their male partners. A representation of the protected and victimised perpetrator also emerged across the data, and was used to normalise men’s perpetration of violence. While some social network members and the ‘seeds’ constructed men as passive recipients of the crime and violence pervading their communities, counter-narratives highlighted the agency men might exercise in their perpetration of violence. Men’s indulgence in alcohol and drugs might allow them to express their vulnerabilities through violence perpetration. Constructions of perpetrators and victims

of violence could be set apart in this study's data. Social representations of the valid victim and victim-blaming will be explored in the next representation of gender-based violence 'myths'.

6.2 Blaming the non-valid victim

Across the data in this study, women were blamed for their own victimisation by men. Some 'seeds' in this study were found to accuse women of masochistically desiring men's domination and discipline, claiming that they "enjoy" the abuse (Lloyd), which was similarly noted by Bourdieu (2001) as a way to blame women for their own victimisation. Beliefs about women accepting or desiring abuse are also ones that allow abusive men to justify their perpetration of abuse and reinforce the practice of symbolic power. Literature on intimate partner violence has pointed to victim-blaming as a way in which men might minimise or excuse their perpetration of violence against a woman partner (Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Wood, 2004). These constructions of victim-blaming, however, are diverse and are not necessarily specific to language employed only by 'perpetrators' in this study. They will be explored in the following two sub-themes: *The valid/non-valid victim: Media representations*, and *Social networks' representations of victim-blaming*.

6.2.1 The valid/non-valid victim: Media representations. The current study found that some newspaper reports had a tendency to reproduce victim-blaming messages and to represent ideas about the masochistic victim. As Bendall (2010, p. 100) and Walker (2001) argued "There are a number of mistaken ideas about [violence against women], such as that only poor women get beaten, or that battered women ask for it", and these 'myths' appear to

be substantially prevalent within the media. Non-valid victims of violence were represented in some newspaper reports as spoiled identities, and depicted as sexually impure and corrupt. The material presented here is graphic and may cause distress for some readers.

In Jo-Anne's case, cops have not ruled out the possibility that her killer also raped her. A condom was found on the grim scene. And she was known to operate as a sex worker to pay for her drug habit [...] Police spokesperson Colonel Tembinkosi Kinana says a resident walking to work spotted Jo-Anne's corpse lying in bushes early yesterday. She was wearing shorts, T-shirt and was barefoot, and dried blood streaked her face and hair.

(“Anene all over again: another girl found violently murdered and raped in bush”, *Daily Voice*, 13 February 2013)

The mother of two was dumped behind the school just metres away from her Leadwood home. She was reportedly a tik⁴⁶ addict who moved from home to home with no fixed address [...] “The problem was that she was on drugs and she didn't take care of herself and I don't know where she was sleeping.” Her friend says: “I grew up with Yumna and we were very close but because of tik, we stopped being friends.”

(“Killer gut mom: her breast and foetus were cut out and thrown over a wall”, *Daily Voice*, 19 August 2011)

⁴⁶ Refer to Chapter One for definition of 'tik'.

Plato visited Marshay's grieving family on Sunday – two days after the mom and baby's badly decomposing bodies were discovered in dense bushes near their home. Their bodies were in such a bad state of decomposition that maggots had already begun eating away their faces [...] Clumps of hair and bloody clothing were also found at the scene. [...] "Family have admitted and confirmed she was a known drug user."

("Dan: Dead mom was a druggie", *Daily Voice*, 12 April 2012)

The above excerpts appeared in the *Daily Voice* news reports on female homicides, which included graphic descriptions of the murder scene as well as details about the deceased women's sex-life and "drug habits". Scholars, such as Wasserman (2010) and Lewis and Orderson (2012) have labelled some South African tabloids as scandalous and sensationalist because the aim of the tabloid is to shock readers. Contrasting views of the tabloid have, however, also emerged. Wasserman (2008, 2010) argued that South African tabloids have given voice to a segment of the population who find themselves on the periphery of the post-apartheid public sphere (Steenveld, 2004; Strelitz & Steenveld, 2005). Tabloids also report on issues from the perspective of those that encounter such phenomena on a daily basis (Wasserman, 2008), rather than from a 'sheltered' middle-class perspective.

Despite these perspectives on tabloids, the *Daily Voice* still seems to pose a problem for representations of violence against women – a view similarly shared by Lewis and Orderson (2012). The writing style as well as the wording of the headlines of the above extracts could be viewed as sensationalist, shocking, and particularly revealing due to the

emphatic focus upon the corpse and the murder scenes (e.g., “Killer gut mom: her breast and foetus were cut out and thrown over a wall”). Although the imagery in newspapers were not included in this study’s analysis, it was observed that reports about women’s violent deaths were often coupled with graphic images of the corpse, sprawled across the sheets of the tabloid, along with bold headlines, such as “CAPE RAPE HORROR” (appeared within a series of February 2013 editions), and “ANENE ALL OVER AGAIN” (Serra, 2013). This latter headline furthermore illustrates the way in which the case of Anene Booysen was often used to sensationalise others in which women were killed (Serra, 2013). Furthermore, the attention placed upon the murdered women and the information provided about them are largely negative and stigmatising. Research that was undertaken by what was formerly referred to as the Media Monitoring Project (MMP) (currently referred to as Media Monitoring Africa) in 1998 highlighted the manner in which women were objectified in news reports, along with the significant emphasis placed upon their violation (Harries & Bird, 2005). Almost twenty years later, this study’s data shows that the objectification of women’s bodies still exist in some forms of printed media. In depersonalising the women’s bodies, journalists may be contributing towards the women’s ongoing injustice and violence even in death.

These news reports also appeared to be drawing upon the Madonna-whore binary (Macdonald, 1995), a discourse of femininity in which women are represented according to two extremes – as either sexually pure (the virgin) and obedient or sexually impure (the whore) (Boonzaier, 2008; Gadd & Jefferson, 2007). Women victims of violence are constructed as promiscuous and corrupt in the above excerpts, and thus positioned within the subjectivity of the ‘whore’, and as possibly undeserving of the ‘valid victim’ label. This representational binary, which juxtaposes the non-valid and valid victim, serves to ‘other’

some victims of violence, and as Jiwani and Young (2006) argued, may make non-valid victims responsible for the violence perpetrated against them.

Respectability is situated within a discourse of asexual femininity, in which women virgins are considered respectable whereas women who are constructed as promiscuous are thought to stray from respectability (Lindegaard & Henriksen, 2009). The Madonna-whore binary operates in a powerful way to reinforce women's adherence to emphasised forms of femininity and respectability (i.e., passivity and purity) and in Boonzaier's (2008) study, it was found that such constructions of a feminine subjugated sexuality also served as a way of justifying sexual violence against women. On the contrary, male sexuality is more permissively represented through the 'male sexual drive' discourse' (Hollway, 1989), highlighting noticeable differences between what is considered respectable for women and men's performance of sexuality. As Buiten and Salo (2007) argued, the Madonna-whore binary is an expression of misogyny, in which perpetrators actions are normalised and the victim's behaviour is made to appear abnormal and deviant.

As noted by Weedon (1987), the signifier 'whore' only generates its meaning when its difference is highlighted amongst other signifiers of femininity such as 'virgin' or 'mother'. Social representations of valid victims, who have 'respectable' characteristics, also featured in news reports. Women victims' physical attractiveness was found to be a significant feature of respectability in some news reports in this study's sample, particularly regarding the way in which women victims of violence are portrayed:

This pretty woman's face was set alight by two suspected gangsters because she would not have sex with them [...] "It is heartbreaking that such a pretty girl now has to look like this."

("Human Torch: girl set alight for refusing to have sex", *Daily Voice*, 7 June 2012)

This is the plush Cape Town guest house where the notorious Facebook killer lured, raped and murdered a beautiful young model [...] The pretty model from Honeydew in Gauteng B&B where Bester's last known victim was slain.

(“Horror hotel”, *Daily Voice*, 30 September 2011)

Police are on the hunt for two pigs who tossed acid into the face of a pretty young woman.

(“Acid Attack”, *Daily Voice*, 2 September 2011)

Daily Voice journalists were overwhelmingly found to anchor and name women victims of violence as “pretty” in order to represent them as worthy victims. In reminding the readers of the physical attractiveness of the women victims of men's violence, it may have allowed that the women were seen as more valuable and that the crime was considered more tragic than in the case of a non-“pretty” woman. As Hoijer (2011) argued, this stereotypical anchoring and naming allows not only that the ‘other’ takes on negative characteristics but it also naturalises the representation. Journalists have also been found to write in ways that ensure that their articles are well-received and relatable to an audience (Berns, 1999). In doing this, it is necessary that the audience is able to relate to the ‘victim’, and to see the victim as “people like us” (Washer & Joffe, 2006, p. 2151). Hoijer (2010, 2011) argued that emotional anchoring is one mechanism whereby social phenomena can be anchored in feelings of anger, pity, compassion, and so forth. In the present study, in naming women victims of violence as ‘pretty’, it may also trigger emotions of compassion and empathy

amongst readers, thereby representing the women and girls as worthy, rather than undeserving victims.

Coloured women and their bodies were often the objects being gazed upon in news reports in the present study, with negative representations of their supposed drunkenness and recklessness being concurrently reinforced. In the passage below, the journalist constructed women who abused alcohol, and coloured women in particular, as being more vulnerable to the perpetration of men's violence:

Alcohol continues to play a key role in gender-based violence in terms of both perpetrators and victims, with coloured women still the most vulnerable, says respected forensic specialist and academic Professor Lorna Martin.

(“Alcohol key factor in gender violence”, *Cape Argus*, 27 October 2011)

This report was one of the few publications on violence against women that emerged within the *Cape Argus*, yet it was printed on page six of the edition. Given the low frequency with which the *Argus* publishes reports on violence against women combined with the simplistic and overly deterministic messages distributed to readers, it may be argued that this newspaper may be reproducing rather than deconstructing myths about violence against women.

The data from this study suggests that there is a need to remain critical of information derived from ‘expert’ sources, in spite of the integral role they may play in the construction of news reports. Scholars have cautioned against trusting so-called factual and non-biased information in newspaper reports purely on the basis of sources that are considered experts (Berns, 1999). The data in this study demonstrates how disciplinary power might be

operating through the powerful institution of the media in shaping lay understandings of violence against women.

The journalist also reiterated more than once in the report, the way in which coloured women might be considered the most vulnerable population to become victims of gender-based violence. This pathological portrayal of coloured women who endure violence constructs their very racial identity as a ‘risk factor’ for violence and alcohol abuse. Although intersectionality feminists have pointed to the matrices of domination that black women might face in their experiences of intimate partner violence (Crenshaw, 1994), there is still a need to caution against perpetuating myths that violence is only a problem for particular races or classes (Bendall, 2010). Racial depictions of women’s bodies are apparent within colonial discourses that define African bodies in terms of “sexual excess, bestiality and bodily deviance” (Hendricks, 2001; Lewis, 2011, p. 19). These stereotypes were built upon sexuality and utilised to ‘other’ the indigenous people – in particular Khoikhoi women – of the Cape (Hendricks, 2001). Sarah Baartman – a southern African Khoisan woman, who was exhibited in Britain and France as the ‘Hottentot Venus’ – was one significant example of how representations of African sexuality transformed 19th century thought about ‘pathological’ bodies (Lewis, 2011). Throughout history, and still today, black women’s bodies are ‘othered’ as deviant and made to appear inferior to “pure” white bodies (Crenshaw, 1994; Lewis, 2011, p. 17).

A recent example of this racialised ‘othering’ of bodies was illustrated in media depictions of Anene Booysen’s and Reeve Steenkamp’s bodies. Booysen’s body was often graphically represented in the media by fixating upon the state of her body when it was discovered:

Johnathan Davids, 23, and Johannes Kana, 21, appeared in the Bredasdorp Magistrates' Court yesterday where they both face charges of rape and murder [...]
The two are accused of brutally raping Anene and violating her with an unknown object, before slitting her open with a sharp instrument and leaving her for dead at a construction site.

(“‘Killers’ are friends”, *Daily Voice*, 13 February 2013)

Sick sex crimes and rapes have more than doubled in the town where tragic Anene Booysen was brutally raped and murdered, a *Daily Voice* investigation reveals today.

(Revealed: Sex crime hotspots, *Daily Voice*, 15 February 2013)

The foster mom of Anene Booysen says the teen was drunk and refused to leave a tavern with her on the night she was brutally raped and mutilated.

(“Drunk Anene would not leave the pub”, *Daily Voice*, 11 February, 2013)

In describing Anene Booysen's body in such graphic terms and in constantly reminding the reader of the “brutality” of her murder, her death may have become a tool to generate sensationalism. In contrast, the treatment of Steenkamp's white body was more dignified and was protected from the media's gaze, than constructions of Anene's body. A critique of the different racialised depictions of women and their bodies remains important although it is also important that all victims of violent crime be treated equally with dignity, privacy and respect in death.

Although readers have been argued to be actively discerning in their interactions with the media (Wasserman, 2010), Joffe (1995) has found that an actively discerning audience might still be swayed by frequently distributed messages, which is further explored in social network members' representations of victim-blaming.

6.2.2 Social networks' representations of victim-blaming. Social network participants largely appeared to echo media discourses that pathologise women victims of violence. Network members in this study expressed the need to set themselves apart from the negatively tainted image of 'abused women':

Megan: She was so used to getting beat up. [...]

Caroline: (The women like such men)

Matthew: Yes, for her it's, it's, it's she want to be beaten.

[Laughter]

Taryn: Women want violent men?

Matthew: Not all women here. You, get, you can't, you can't, you can't generalise. You can't put everyone in that open system. It's just the majority or the minority, but basically it's the majority. You see that is like that, the, the, the women like in the community, like they want to get beaten up. In front of people, in the house, wherever, they want it.

Megan: Maybe it's kwaai⁴⁷, it's kwaai for them, because I think that maybe that's a turn on for them. (FG3; Hanover Park)

The discussion began in response to Matthew's personal experience of how he was reportedly 'persuaded' by his male friend to become violent against his girlfriend: "she wants a hiding". Matthew and the rest of the women participants co-constructed and reproduced the popular discourse of victim-blaming and the masochistic victim ("women like such men" and "that's a turn on for them"). The participants' laughter might have added to the moral 'othering' of women victims of violence; however laughter might not always be an expression of humour (Billig, 2005), and could have gestured some discomfort or embarrassment that the participants felt. In the above focus group, the mother (Caroline) and cousin (Matthew) of Robert – a 'seed' from the first phase of the study – were present. Although these two network members acknowledged the wrongness of men's violence against women at other points in the discussion, they also represented victims as not only occasionally deserving this violence, but also as desiring it in their exchange above.

As postulated by Rhodes (2011), respectability might become a form of moral authority, and a means through which individuals or groups distinguish themselves from the 'other' social and symbolic positions. Respectability may also reflect a form of *ideological hegemony* (Gramsci, 1971) in how it makes a certain way of life dominant through practices of morality. In constructing a moral image of the self, Douglas (1970, p. 6) argued that "upgrading" the self and "downgrading" others allows the social actor to emphasise their commitment to morality. Douglas (1970, p. 6) added that:

⁴⁷ An Afrikaans slang term, with a similar meaning to the English slang term, 'cool'.

The more effective any individual or group of individuals is in getting the categories of deviance and crime imputed to others, the more effective he is getting the categories of morality and law-abiding citizen imputed to himself. Others must be degraded if he is to be upgraded.

Within this representation of victim-blaming coloured women victims are constructed as the ‘other’; the ‘outsiders’ who are judged by the in-group of respectable community members. A social representation that links women victims to notions of blame may serve a defensive function for the in-group. Because a mass threat is located within the out-group, it allows those who do not hold spoiled identities to distance themselves from this threat and in the process, feel protected and safe (Joffe, 1995). According to Hendricks (2001), individuals operate as active agents to clarify group boundaries. As spoiled identities, coloured women who are victims of violence may furthermore shame the coloured identity, thereby motivating other coloured women to dissociate from such tainted representations. The respectability of men and women not only casts a reflection onto the reputation of the family, but also onto families across communities and ‘gossip’ networks (Lindegaard & Henriksen, 2009). Men’s social network members in the present study constructed themselves as the audience that monitors the behaviour of the non-respectable woman; relaying stories that depict victims of violence in an unfavourable light, while perpetrators are absent as characters in the narratives of responsibility.

These representations of victim-blaming had implications for the way in which community residents responded to situations of intimate partner violence. For an outsider to respond to violence meant that the situation involved a particular kind of ‘valid’ victim, one who is deserving of some intervention (Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011):

Megan: I tried to stop a (fight) between girlfriend and boyfriend, then they always told me, “ya, shut up, it’s not your thing. [...] I can hit her like I want”

Taryn: **And what does the woman do?**

Megan: [the woman] stands with a closed mouth

Matthew: Sometimes, what, okay, a fight happens. Then they do it again. So what’s the use?

Janine: Like they say, ‘hy slaat die liefde mos weer in’ [translation: he hits the love back in] [Laughter] (FG3; Hanover Park)

The participants appeared to tease victims for their naïveté and failure to leave abusive relationships, with popular language such as “tough love” and “hy slat die liefde weer in”, which was followed by laughter from other participants in the group. Intimate partner violence has been documented in literature as an expression of love (Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Boonzaier, 2008; Jewkes, 2002; Wood et al., 2007, 2008), but the present study demonstrated the kind of ridicule women might endure at the expense of such ‘love’ expressions. The blaming attitudes held by some of participants may have been a way for them to dissociate from the violence, and possibly not be compelled to respond. This dissociation technique may even be a form of retrospective justification for individuals’ own lack of responding.

The manner in which community residents respond to women victims of violence may also impact on how women psychologically and emotionally respond to the violence perpetrated against them. For example, Faheema, a social network participant in this study, explained that women who return to abusive partners enjoy the violence (“But maybe she’s

enjoying it that way”). This social network member was married for 16 years, and for most of it, she endured physical and emotional abuse at the hands of her husband. Still, she actively participated in a conversation which represented women who fail to leave violent relationships as “enjoying” the abuse. Therefore, ‘othering’ need not only play itself out between in-groups and out-groups, but also within groups of women who have themselves experienced abuse. As Faheema and Theresa continued to discuss:

Faheema: Maybe I was one of them because I took sixteen years to leave.

Theresa: No, no you can’t say like that man. Maybe the, the love you had for him. It’s not always that.

Faheema: No, I was always looking into the, if I leave him now, when I was young, because I had five children. And I always think, what is going to happen? What’s gonna happen? (FG4; Hanover Park)

Faheema began the extract by exploring her possible membership to the out-group when she said, “maybe I was one of them” – referring to the women who have tarnished reputations because they decided to stay with their abusive partners. Faheema’s personal experience of domestic violence appeared to be greatly influenced by the community representations of ‘othering’, which speaks to the interaction between herself and others in the technologies of the self and individual domination (Foucault, 1988). Ruth was another social network member who was found to subscribe to this social representation and internalise it when it came to her own experience of abuse:

Ruth: He did abuse me silently in the room [...] But I always said to myself when the time, but the time mustn’t be late, because I don’t want to look like an abusive woman

outside the world – will look like a mock [...] So I went in for a divorce. I'm now 16 years divorced without a man. (FG7; Hanover Park)

Ruth's choice to leave her abusive partner was influenced by her fear of being "mocked" and 'spoiled' in the face of her community. Ruth appears to have internalised this representation of victim-blaming and passivity. She emphasises that women should not leave their abusive relationships too late because they will be mocked for having stayed.

Humphreys (2000) investigated the power of the serial story; a narrative that contributed to a sense of unity amongst community members. This kind of narrative was also described as multi-vocal because community narratives and individuals' personal stories interact and are shaped by one another. For example, in Cain's (1991) study, speakers would only share comments that were consistent with the Alcoholics Anonymous view of alcoholism and would avoid comments that steered away from the norm. Members of a community may receive more social reinforcement for obeying community narratives, thereby making the serial story a "powerful socialization tool" (Humphreys, 2000, p. 502). In the current study, it could then be seen how personal narratives (such as Ruth and Faheema's experiences of abuse) might have been shaped by broader community representations of victim-blaming.

Alternative representations of women victims are, however, integral in countering stereotypical constructions of victims of violence, and may also acknowledge the more complex nuances that women encounter in leaving their violent relationships. For example, Hanover Park social network participants shared their frustrations regarding how the legal interventions do not cater for the lived realities of black women, and how the system delays or prohibits women's justice:

Deidre: The police, there's a fight, we phone them, they never come. They don't come. Even if they do come, they never take any notice of us [...]

Leigh-Anne: They will tell you to go and fetch an interdict in Wynberg⁴⁸, but when you get there, it's like a whole story and then yet, I mean, (Look, there's someone in our road that is going through these things for years. Okay eventually she got away from her husband. We all know who we're talking about. We are okay with talking about her. But I mean, she was in and out of Wynberg for a few months and he still got the chance to abuse her, to hit her. And then when the 'laws' come, then they tell her the story, *that* story, but they barely come to fetch the men. I think they must, how can I say, put in place a stronger law when it comes to the women).

Taryn: So the law, the law isn't helping anyone.

ALL PARTICIPANTS: no

Leigh-Anne: It, it, it, it's, it doesn't work.

Taryn: It's difficult to get to Wynberg,

Erica: (Yes), you must sit there all day.

Leigh-Anne: The whole day, you must sit the whole day. And they tell you come back tomorrow morning early [...] It's (It costs) R10, its R10.

Tracey: If you can afford it.

[Group cross talks]

⁴⁸ Wynberg is a suburb approximately seven kilometres outside Hanover Park.

Tracey: (Yes but it still doesn't help. I took out an interdict against my children's father but it doesn't help. Every time, he does the same thing) [...]

Elaine: (and the other problem that we also face, Taryn, is that say now the woman is abused, then the, the police station is outside our community).

Leigh-Anne: (Oh its far, it's very far).

Elaine: (Something can happen during the day. It can happen during the night, if they shoot the woman) [...]

Erica: They (police) tell you a van is on its way [...] 2, 3 hours, 4 hours later [...] My man (hits me) then. (FG1; Hanover Park)

The group referenced above was composed of only women, in which participants challenged the idea that women remain passive in abusive relationships. This focus group stood out above the rest of the groups, not only because it provided insight into the several difficulties experienced by women when reporting incidents of violence, but also because this group attempted to deconstruct representations of the passive victim and re-represent women as battling the matrices of domination that keep them subordinated and in abusive relationships. A field study conducted in an impoverished community in Los Angeles by Crenshaw (1994) showed that two of the many structural burdens carried by battered women who seek protection are unemployment and poverty. She found that in order to eradicate violence, it was not enough that shelters for abused women only addressed the violence inflicted by the man partner. Intimate partner violence needs to be understood according to the matrices of domination that converge in women's lives. For example, many black women are burdened with child care responsibilities, poverty, and a lack of job skills (Crenshaw,

1994; Jewkes et al. 2012). These burdens are largely the result of gender and class oppression. Crenshaw's work and the message embedded in the above exchange showed that the matrices of domination that women face in seeking help, limit the options they may have for leaving abusive relationships. It is also likely that these kinds of challenges to popular representations of victim-blaming were made possible by the same-sex composition of the group.

Representations of noncompliant police officials also surfaced in a focus group when Tracey explained the way in which police officers 'other' abused women and consequently, minimise the violence they experience: "(They (*police*) laugh at you. They say 'yes but it's not necessary for you to make a case at court'. And then they tell you 'don't worry Missus, he will calm down later')". A social representation of privacy emerges here, and indicates that a lack of responding on behalf of the police is likely to make that victims of abuse refrain from seeking legal help in order to keep this violence 'private'.

Police officials' laughter, according to Tracey, also aided to belittle and trivialise women's experiences of abuse. Jensen (2009) argued that in Cape Flats' communities police are generally "feared and loathed, and connections with them interpreted as a potential betrayal" (p. 57). Mathews and Abrahams (2001) similarly found that women who had reported acts of domestic violence experienced hostility from police officers. Police officers were also reported to be uncooperative and may have arrived hours later or the next day after having been called to the scene (Mathews & Abrahams, 2001). This lack of response by police officials may indeed leave women no other choice but to remain in abusive relationships; thereby reinforcing representations of victim-blaming. As Marcus (1994) argued, violence against women in the home continues to be founded on the beliefs of male power and entitlement, and a legal system that "naturalises" (p. 18) this violence and allows

perpetrators to act without fear of punishment by the state “is a legal system devoted to maintaining control over women” (p. 18).

In sum, community representations that blame victims and accuse women of desiring violence emerged amongst ‘seeds’, their networks and in the media. The link between blame and the out-group came to be anchored and objectified as afflicting only ‘foreign’ identities – that of poor coloured women who are short of respectability and who supposedly wish to be abused. Notions of respectability were found to inflict restraints upon women’s behaviours, and more importantly, make women responsible for their own domination. Counter-representations showed that women’s acceptance of abuse might be the outcome of having minimal sources of social and financial support or protection from the criminal justice system. As a powerful institution, the media also plays a key role in responding to violence against women through the messages it distributes to the masses. The next theme speaks to the way in which over-representations of ‘extreme’ forms of gender-based violence may deflect from the normalisation of everyday violence.

6.3 Representations of newsworthiness and normalisation

A wealth of research on violence, carried out in the context of South Africa, has pointed to the deeply entrenched, normalisation of violence against women, whilst some communities have been noted to experience higher rates of violence than others (Abrahams et al., 2006; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes et al., 2002; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). The ‘seeds’ in the present study were found to normalise violence against women within their communities to the extent that it was represented as a fixed characteristic, “born” inside of them as residents of their particular communities. Men’s social network members similarly

described their communities as facing daily, mundane occurrences of violence against women:

Tracey: “It’s like the order of the day” (FG1; Hanover Park)

Matt: “It’s as if you wake up in the mornings and you look outside. Opposite you [...] someone is fighting with another person [...] it’s something that we see daily, it is. It does not affect us anymore”). (FG2; Strand)

Ricardo: “If there’s not domestic violence in the Strand, then Strand is not the Strand”. (FG6; Strand)

The sample of media data was however found to over-represent extreme forms of violence against women; thereby reinforcing the ‘silencing’ of normative violence that is largely shaped by gender inequalities (Shefer, 2013). These extreme forms of violence depicted in the newspaper data included either sexual violence against women, intimate femicide or female homicide. A lesser focus was placed upon other forms, such as emotional, physical, psychological, economic abuse in the context of intimate heterosexual relationships. This exclusive reporting on extreme occurrences of physical and sexual abuse might be an example of newsworthiness.

Gilchrist (2010) argued that newsworthy stories are those perceived as “dramatic, unusual, or fit with a continuing news theme” (p. 374). Scholars have also shown that particular kinds of violence are considered more newsworthy than others (Dowler, 2004;

Greer, 2003; Jewkes, 2004). Greer (2003) noted that in the context of sex crimes, proximity (i.e., events that are geographically or culturally closer to readers) might draw more astonishment since the crimes might be committed in the same neighbourhood by ‘uncaught’ perpetrators. Perpetrators of sexual violence – unknown to the victim – might too receive increased sensational media attention (Jewkes, 2004). In addition, extreme forms of violence – such as murder – have been perceived as highly newsworthy, with white women receiving significant attention (Dowler, 2004). In a study by Buthelezi (2007) it was found that sensationalist reporting on rape in the *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga* newspapers (circulated in the South African province of KwaZulu-Natal) was achieved by focusing on cases of young girls who were victims of rape by older men. If adult women were victims, the newspapers were found to cover incidents of rape by strangers or by individuals that women barely knew (Buthelezi, 2007). Based upon the features of newsworthiness outlined by the above theorists, the reasoning behind the significant media attention placed upon Anene Booysen, who endured extreme sexual violence, and Reeve Steenkamp, a white young South African celebrity, might then be understood as a feature of newsworthiness.

Greer’s (2003) depiction of newsworthiness in the context of sexual crimes may also explain why some forms of South African media continue to lay a pronounced emphasis on extreme forms of sexual violence against women. One of the goals outlined by the Media Monitoring Project – according to Harries and Bird (2005) was to expose a variety of abuses; but the fact that newspapers continue to reproduce representations of extreme violence may indicate that this goal may not have been seriously achieved. Other forms of abuse (i.e., emotional, psychological, economic etc.) are equally meaningful for women who endure intimate partner violence (Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011), yet there is minimal news coverage on these forms of intimate partner violence. It may also be the case that these forms

of partner violence are normalised and ‘extreme’ forms of violence may be considered extraordinary. Jewkes (2004) contended that non-fatal physical or sexual violence committed in the home is considered too ordinary by newsmakers to be rendered newsworthy, and consequently may move to the bottom of the crime ‘hierarchy’. While types of abuse cannot be placed within a hierarchy of importance; an exclusive focus upon extremely brutal violence deflects from the normalisation of everyday violence; which, according to Shefer (2013), “creates and maintains the conditions which make more brutal manifestations possible” (p. 2).

This ideology of newsworthiness was not restricted to the media alone, but it also had meaning for social network members in this study. Some social network participants drew upon socio-spatial representations of newsworthiness to argue that certain Cape Flats’ townships have attracted more news coverage than others, on account of their geographical positioning and their notoriety:

Ricardo: It’s always the Southern suburbs, the Northern suburbs, it’s always that places. Cape Town south, like Bonteheuwel, Mannenberg⁴⁹, [cross talk]

Wesley: Mitchell’s Plain

Ricardo: You can believe me, I came from that areas. I know what it’s all about, you know. [...] That places are popular places for gangsterism and drugs. [...] but the Strand, ooh, it’s the big [Inaudible.] You see the Strand, it’s a very small place. And the Strand is not that popular, but what I want to say is, to get the Strand on the right track and to get the youth with the community and everybody who are in positions to get this place on the right track. My verdict is, and my point of view is and my bit of

⁴⁹ Ricardo is referring to Cape Flats’ communities.

solution is to reveal this place. Reveal this place to 3rd Degree⁵⁰ and any other programmes that there is, that is there -

Jacob: And show it on TV.

Ricardo: And show the people on the outside the ministers and all the people on the outside what happens in the Strand. (FG6; Strand)

Ricardo's observation that Strand is rarely in view of the public eye was also a finding prevalent in this study's sample of news reports. Hanover Park – a township on the southern stretch of the Cape flats – has generated much media coverage, although notorious, on account of its crime and gang violence. In this study's sample of news reports, four pieces were published about Hanover Park's gang violence, and about separate cases of violence in the community; yet, no reports emerged on any subject matter related to Strand. Social representations of Strand and Hanover Park in the media emerge within this discourse of newsworthiness, constructing the severe conditions of violence in Hanover Park as more newsworthy than the similar prevalence of interpersonal violence in Strand.

The newsworthiness presented in these newspapers, in addition, appear to reinforce stereotypes of blackness and fear by emphasising narratives of criminality and gang violence (Billings, 2011; Ratele, 2013b). Howarth (2006) similarly found that representations of the neighbourhood of Brixton in the UK served to reinforce representations of blackness and criminality. Washer and Joffe (2006) also found that if social representations are anchored as a distant threat or if it remains abstract – by isolating risk groups to geographically or marginal populations – the sense of 'threat' becomes hypothetical. Indeed, the very formation

⁵⁰ A weekly current affairs programme broadcast on South African television, well-known for its ability to expose exploitation and oppressive structures.

of social representations is defensive in that it anchors a familiar object, which serves to protect the individual from the potentially frightening “shock of the new” (Kaës, 1984, p. 2), and serves to distance the threat of violence.

Some forms of media coverage were also depicted by social network participants as more sensationalist and misleading than others. As Ricardo continued to voice his opinion he commented on newspapers:

“You can read about it, but you know [Cross talk] a journalist is only there for sensation [Group Agreement]. He can make up any story just to earn his money [...] but if they come here and make a video footage of it, that the people on TV can really see, what is really happening here”.

Ricardo’s argument discredits the printed media’s sensationalism and he requests the opportunity for Strand residents to tell their stories and provide opinions about violence against women. According to Vetten (2000), NGOs have in the past problematised the messages about gender-based violence distributed by the media, which led to initiatives that landed the media in more pro-active anti-violence work. A Rape Crisis television advertisement formed part of this initiative in 1999, in which Charlize Theron – a South African born Hollywood actress – stated: “Many people ask me what South African men are like” (p. 111), which she followed by listing the soaring rape statistics in South Africa (Vetten, 2000). This advertisement was retracted in 1999 by the Advertising Standards Authority due to complaints by members of the public who accused the clip for being prejudiced against men (Vetten, 2000). The public reaction to the advertisement may show that although the media might attempt more constructive reporting in their response to gender-based violence, it is also necessary that their ‘audience’ also subscribe to their ideals.

In sum, extreme sexual forms of violence against women, as well as intimate femicide and female homicide were noted as more newsworthy and made to appear more deviant than other forms of intimate partner abuse. Newsworthiness was even critiqued by some social network members for ignoring the conditions of crime and violence in Strand and making them appear insignificant. These findings point to a need for urgent transformations within media coverage on violence. Representations of newsworthiness and normalisation have serious implications for the way in which community members might respond to acts of IPV, which is explored next.

6.4 The public/privacy of violence

While at times the victim, children or immediate family might be the only bystanders who witness the violence; in communities like Hanover Park and Strand, with people often living in close proximity to each other, bystanders often include other members beyond the family. ‘Private’ violence becomes a public event. Jeremy (‘seed’) reported how this public performance of violence was represented as a source of entertainment for community residents:

What I have witnessed in Hanover Park, when people are fighting, it’s like entertainment. It has become entertainment. Everybody would run, every, you know at school, when people fighting, boys fighting, then the whole. You see, so, so, so they will gather around and they (say), “hit him, hit him!” and so encourage this whole thing [...] because you guys are entertaining us [...] But my beliefs - and I always say if everybody stay in their house, nobody comes outside, that thing will be

over in 2 seconds. They will say, “Hey, where’s this man, no spectators, this thing is boring, let *sommer*⁵¹ go”. (Interview 17)

Public displays of violence were constructed by two participants as “entertainment” and as a performance for an audience of community members, indicating that violence is not only restricted to the privacy of the home. Jeremy and other participants openly showed their disapproval for these public acts of violence. Jeremy’s construction of spectators resonates with Bordo’s (1999) critique of boxing spectators who reward men for perpetrating injury upon another person. Public displays of masculine violence may be considered exciting in the boxing ring because it rebels against the laws of civilisation and allows the individual to “act out the (forbidden) aggression in all of us” (Bordo, 1999, p. 236). Bordo’s (1999) analysis of the boxer and spectators speaks volumes about this ‘boxing’ scenario in Hanover Park in which men may be rewarded for being as aggressive as possible, while still learning that the taboos against violence do not apply to them. This is a prime example of the way in which bystander responses to violence perpetration influence how men might psychologically conceptualise and respond to their own violence.

Public violence was not only depicted as entertainment; Robert represented violence against women in Hanover Park as the “in thing” and as “fashion” – a trend that is socially and culturally reinforced and valued. Felson (2002) might argue that the public display of violence described by Jeremy and Robert would imply that violence was normative in that particular social setting. While the normalisation of violence against women has been noted in South African literature, social representations of public violence as a source of

⁵¹ A slang term meaning ‘rather’ in this speech context.

entertainment and as a ‘trend’ have not. Such constructions not only normalise violence; they may also minimise and desentise individuals towards the perpetration of violence against women.

Tabloids have also been associated with entertainment (or “infotainment” as named by Steenveld, 2004, p. 105), vulgarity, gossip with little political engagement and “serious news” (Curran & Seaton, 2003; Grisprud, 1992; Lewis & Orderson, 2012; Morna & Ndlovu, 2007; Örnebring & Jönsson, 2004; Wasserman, 2008, 2010, p. 12). Lewis and Orderson (2012) found that *The Daily Voice* represented the serious phenomenon of violence against women as a form of entertainment – a mechanism intentionally employed to shock readers. In the current study’s media data, VAW was also anchored and objectified as entertainment and ‘shock’ factors were also noted within a series of news article titles about the violence perpetrated by police officials. Some of these included “Long *Lippe*⁵² of the Law” (Geduld, 2011); “Law and out of order: couple is critical after cop ‘shoots’ wife and himself” (Baadjies, 2012a); and “Urine trouble: *vrou*⁵³ threatened by drunk cop pissing outside her café” (Baadjies, 2012b). The language (“pissing”) and puns (“urine trouble”) employed in these titles may serve to trivialise police officials’ acts of aggression, and may also serve a humorous function. When this humour emerges within representations of men’s violence against women, it has the effect of foregrounding the entertainment value of the report and downplaying the seriousness of the allegations.

The social network participants similarly constructed public violence as a performance, undertaken for an audience of community members:

⁵² Afrikaans term for ‘lips’

⁵³ Afrikaans term for ‘woman’.

Matthew: It's happening on the street as well. Young, young, young guys is hitting on ladies and stuff like that in front of people, broad daylight and they don't care how they do it or what they do. [...] you want to beat that girl now, he want to hit me, so it's fine I'm just going, here's people, it's an audience. (FG3; Hanover Park)

The group above is only one example amongst three focus groups – across the communities studied – who discussed public violence through co-constructed theatrical narratives of entertainment. The performance itself was constructed by Matthew as reckless and brazen. Beyond the above extract other participants constructed this public performance of violence against women as a “scene” and as a gathering not to be missed (“From the oldest to the youngest is outside every house”). In addition, a member of Jeremy's network limited this public ‘entertainment’ of violence to specific courts⁵⁴ within Hanover Park: “The one minute it's so quiet in Hanover Park, I'm talking about our court [...] and the *next* minute you see running and fighting and going on, then you [Inaudible] all the people are running to see what is going on”. Indeed, this representation of public violence has spatial implications too – some social network members did not identify with representations of entertainment and thus spatially distanced themselves from the spectacle. Watt (2006) found that respectability might be measured by how residents viewed their neighbourhood, their neighbours, and their place within this system. Residents of a district in Camden, London were found to distinguish themselves from the other ‘rough’ individuals or features of their neighbourhoods, in order to maintain their respectability, and Watt's (2006) findings also resonate with Hanover Park residents who attempt to maintain their respectability.

⁵⁴ The infrastructure of Cape Flats' communities generally have their most dense housing within the central zone, and these blocks of apartments are referred to as the ‘courts’, which are compactly built.

An instrumental discourse (O'Neill, 1998) of violence also surfaced in the above extract, in which violence is a public performance taken up to reinstate masculinity for an audience of men and women. Schepers and Zway (2012) found that public violence and sexuality in a Cape Flats' community may have been a threat to individuals' respectability, however, the current study found that such performances allowed some men to gain status and reputation. Butler (1990) and West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that gender is done through the constant repetition of gender-appropriate acts, making the *doing of gender* visible for the context in which it is carried out. The performativity and constant reproduction of gender is then dominated by accepted and valued models of masculinity and femininity (Butler, 1990). The *doing of gender*, though, is not to only conform to normative prescriptions of gender but also to engage in performances based on the extent to which gender is being 'assessed' in the situation (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The risk of resisting gender performances that give meaning to reputation and respectability may result in negative consequences. Social network members reported that intervening in public violence is also represented as an act of disrespect towards some men:

Tara: Let's say you go out with a gangster [...] we fight, his brother can't interfere.

[...]

Gino: Because, because when you interfere you a man and when you try to overpower him he feel like weak man, then he want to come tomorrow, "Ya you don't take me for a *pop*⁵⁵, I'm not a *pop*". Then he wanna bring his gang because they wanna gang up on you. [...]

Lauren: And he bring other friends. (FG4; Hanover Park)

⁵⁵ Direct English translation is 'doll', and could furthermore be interpreted as "don't take me for a pushover".

The participants co-narrated about the disruption of the masculine performance that occurs when men intervene and undermine another man's performance of masculinity. Intervening in a man's performance of the violent masculinity is viewed to undermine his strength ("when you try to overpower him he feel like weak man"). Gino also alluded to gangsters who respond to public humiliation with the exaggerated violent 'disciplining' of the men interveners. Similarly, Hearn (1998b) noted that in his study, male peers often had an unspoken agreement that men should not interfere in other men's 'private' business.

In terms of public displays of intimate partner violence, outsiders also feared that "interfering" in fights between couples could make them targets of violence and may compromise their safety:

Gino: You see today a man, (a man), he can fight? But at the end of the day he's gonna be, still together then you gonna be the third party guy. You see? Then we gonna be angry at you because you did interfere.

[Respondents laughing].

Faheema: You interfere in our business now.

Lauren: But at the end of the day, tomorrow you love each other and, and in the street and so on. [...]

Tara: They don't like people to,

Gino: Interfere [...] because then they get more aggressive.

Faheema: They just said, "we're married, can't interfere" [laugh].

Taryn: So if you're married then no one can interfere?

Faheema: That's what they, the men always say - "It's not your business, okay whatever." (FG4; Hanover Park)

The participants' co-constructed narrative of non-interference shows that action will be shaped by a number of influences and is more complex than simply intervening to stop the violence. The decision to intervene during the perpetration of domestic violence is defined by the potential intervener's assessment of harmful risk. As Felson (2002) argued, when a man becomes violent towards a woman partner, bystanders are more likely to assess the need for intervention as "low" and the harm as "high" (p. 88). The danger of harm to witnesses who intervene should not be underestimated in contexts such as Hanover Park and Strand, where gang involvement and interpersonal violence is a reality for many.

The participants also represented intervention as 'interference' in couples' private business. Mutualising language (i.e. "they") was also called upon to ambiguously contend that both parties (the man and woman) object to this 'interference' ("*They* don't like people to [...] interfere [...] because then *they* get more aggressive"). This idea of couples acting jointly in thwarting any intervention by bystanders was noted in a Strand group too by James who said: "(when I came to the guy, he was hitting his wife, she wanted to hit me first, she said to me: 'my man!' Then she hit me). The local constructions of morality and responsibility may have also shaped community members' responses to public violence (Salo, 2003, 2006; Schepers & Zway, 2012). In the current study, morality and respectability appeared to be judged by the individual's willingness to stay true to 'community codes' of loyalty, interdependence, self-sacrifice and in mutually respecting each other's 'privacy'.

Non-interference in violent incidents was highly recommended for married couples as this was perceived as an even bigger intrusion of privacy (Faheema: They just said, "we're

married, can't interfere"). Social network participants in this study spoke about the constitution of marriage as a discourse within which the woman is positioned as the man's property, a notion similarly emphasised by Hydén (1994) and Ampofo and Boateng (2007). It is also a feature of respectability that women, upon marriage, remain subservient to men (Wilson, 1969). The findings also form part of the colonial discourse in which domestic violence against women was excused on the basis of "lover's quarrels" (p. 119), and constructed as less important due to its 'private' and domestic occurrence (Thornberry, 2010). This discourse appears to have been somewhat adapted over time in the sense that participants' narratives of violence now show that even public violence (when occurring between a man and a woman) might be understood as a private event.

Violence against women need not have been a public display to have been considered 'public knowledge' either. As one participant said, "If (the violence) is not outside the house, the people are going into your house". Even when violence against women was perpetrated in the privacy of individuals' own homes, participants still explained that the housing structures allowed for everything to be heard, particularly by neighbours. In situations where violence took place behind closed doors, yet could still be heard, neighbours were reported to have responded by turning a blind eye and ignoring that the violence was in fact happening:

Taryn: What if it [violence] happens behind closed doors?

Faheema: Ask Keith and his wife.

Taryn: Why?

Faheema: They never interrupt.

Taryn: But is it loud?

Faheema: [...] During the night the fight begins [...] and then he [ex-husband] hit me the *whole* night, not Keith, his wife - I stay in the yard by my brother - not him or his wife is coming down. They only see the next morning I got blue eyes or I got uh, full of blood or whatever, or the cops came in maybe. That's all they see.

Gino: It's almost like *your* business, it's *your* business.

Taryn: Did you want anyone to intervene?

Faheema: Sometimes I shout for help – I want somebody, I tried to get someone even to hit him that time but everyone was like scared. (FG4; Hanover Park)

The above exchange is one example of how the material conditions in which the participants live allow them to experience violence in a particular way – a ‘public’ event even though it might take place behind closed doors. The courts in Cape Flats’ communities are so compactly built that spatial boundaries between the street and homes are unclear, “reconfiguring the distinction between private and public space” (Salo, 2003, p. 350). Hanover Park’s infrastructure impacts on the intensity of constant social contact and encounters with violence, which these residents report to experience.

With reference to the above exchange, it can also be seen how the dynamics between network members emerge. Keith was a ‘seed’ from the first phase of this study, and Faheema was one of the network members referred by Keith. Judging from Faheema’s interaction in the group, friendships – and the supposed expectations that might come with this relationship – take a back seat amidst intimate partner violence, especially when the ‘intervener’ might be punished for their involvement. Friendships also appear to be secondary to the marital relationship which requires privacy. It also became clearer how this assumption of non-

intervention serves to preserve the couple's privacy, yet shelves the needs of the victim. Faheema reported having shouted for help ("Sometimes I shout for help – I want somebody"), yet Gino interjected by reinforcing this representation of privacy ("It's almost like *your* business, it's *your* business"). Faheema was attempting to challenge the idea that women do not want bystanders to intervene; however, Gino's interjection may be interpreted within a wider silencing discourse, in which women's attempts to challenge abuse are greeted with men's attempts to 're-subjugate' them. Social representations of private violence may have become so taken-for-granted that much less consideration is given to victims, who despite shouting or asking for help, are side-lined and made to appear fickle in their choices to leave abusive relationships. It could also be the case that there is an assumption that help is always available to victims whereas this study's data suggests that fear produces silenced bystanders.

In sum, representations of public/private violence were dynamic and diverse. Violence was described as a public source of entertainment by some participants, and reasons for not intervening in public violence ranged from fear for safety to beliefs about the 'privacy' of the married couple, even in public displays of violence. These representations of privacy, however, appeared to not only condone violence against women, but also served to keep women victims silenced in their abusive relationships. Despite widely held representations of violence as ordinary and normal, some participants considered it not to be so, and such forms of resistance will be delved into in the next theme.

6.5 Representations of vigilantism and community action

Counter-ideologies and forms of resistance came to the fore amongst social network members and within news reports as a response to the ineffectiveness of the South African legal system

and its provision of protection for victims of violence. As Joffe (1995) argued, individuals and groups are not solely passive victims of the social representations that circulate.

Resistance involves collective participation that operates to improve individuals' material conditions, to increase social empowerment, and ultimately instigate social change (Campbell & McLean, 2002). In the present study's sample, community resistance against those who are considered to hold power such as the State, criminal justice system and law officials showed how communities had the power to create "concrete action" (Cronje, 2013). Religious leaders in communities, community members and schools were constructed in reports as taking action to combat the scourge of gendered and gang violence:

Religious leaders can play a critical role in the fight against women and child abuse, a conference held at the University of the Western Cape this week has heard. [...]

"When we continue to ignore faith issues, we limit out interventions. Faith can fill a piece in the conversation to address men's violence against women," said Petersen.

Father John Oliver, chairman of the Western Cape Religious Leaders Forum, said that to fight woman abuse, "humans need to see each other as holy".

(Religions to help fight abuse, *Cape Argus*, 30 November 2011)

Communities acting together could start the process of decreasing crimes against women, a statement that was echoed by almost all speakers.

(MPs slam 'barbarian' violence, *Cape Argus*, 27 February 2013)

“I [Education minister, Angie Motshekga] have issued a directive to all provincial education departments to instruct schools across the country to call special assemblies to highlight the scourge of rape and gender-based violence”

(“Call for SA to do the right thing, *Cape Argus*, 27 February 2013)

Unified community members were represented as the primary actors in policing their own communities, which ranged from neighbourhoods and religious groups to university and school communities. This fierce response to the scourge of violence against women and children in South Africa surfaced particularly in newspaper reports that followed the murder of Anene Booysen and Reeva Steenkamp. It may have been anticipated that the outcry of the South African nation and the pressing need to mobilise as a unified group might have become more central at this particular point in time. This renewed struggle for violence against women occurred via objectification through personification – a discursive tool frequently employed by the media, which links a phenomenon to well-known public figures thereby drawing attention to events (Hoijer, 2011). In the case of Booysen (who became a public figure through media-reporting on her murder) and Steenkamp, they may have become the ‘new’ symbols of re-presentations of IPV, signalling the injustice of violence against women, and resulting in a ‘new’ movement to end violence.

Although constructive responses to gender-based violence predominantly infiltrated the media, other kinds of responses – arising from much frustration and anger – also emerged:

All hell broke loose in Eerste River on New Year’s Eve when angry residents took the law into their own hands. They attacked the man – only known as “Boy” – after they

accused him of raping and killing 20-year-old Monicque Jors last month [...] The mob left him for dead after stoning him with bricks and rocks [...] Scores of residents cheered as Boy was taken away in a body bag.

(“Public execution: serial rapist and killer is stoned to death by *mal*⁵⁶ mob”,
Daily Voice, 3 January 2013)

The Khayelitsha woman says the people are *gatvol*⁵⁷ of thugs in the area. “They just sort them out without calling the police because they always come back to the neighbourhood and rob more people,” she says.

(“Whackberry”, *Daily Voice*, 14 September 2012)

Vigilantism emerged as a response to the unrelenting violence pervading marginalised communities in the Cape, and community members were reported to have taken matters into their own hands to punish perpetrators. Glaser (2000) argued that policing during apartheid was more concerned with confining township crime, instead of stopping and preventing it, with the ultimate goal of protecting white areas. However, a history of fruitless policing and prosecution of perpetrators of violence was argued to result in an alternative form of communal policing by oppressed South Africans, namely vigilantism (Buur & Jensen, 2004; Jensen, 1999). Vigilantism is not a new response undertaken by communities who have grown wary of an ineffective criminal justice system. In the 1990s there was a rise in vigilante movements to protect children from drugs, protect wives and daughters from rape,

⁵⁶ An Afrikaans term translated as ‘mad’ and ‘crazy’.

⁵⁷ A slang term indicating the extent to which someone has had enough.

and the broader society from criminal behaviour and lawlessness (Morrell, 2001; Vetten, 2000). A vigilante group that gained much fame in Cape Town was *People Against Gangsterism And Drugs* (Pagad) through the August 1996 event when members burnt and killed one of the most notorious gangsters and drug-dealers on the Cape Flats (Buur & Jensen, 2004; Jensen, 1999, 2009). These violent struggles continue to gain news coverage in present day South Africa as noted above. Similarly to Washer and Joffe's (2006) study these violent struggles might resemble battle metaphors of civilians uprising against the state and criminal justice system. The actions by the community members in the extracts above may also resonate with the death penalty and the call for its re-enforcement (Vetten, 2000) and may be opportunities to publicly condemn perpetrators and to reinstate a shamed subjectivity.

The criminal justice system may be perceived as a symbolic collapse of a structure designed to maintain social order and justice. This continued fight for social order and authority was narrated nostalgically by one network member, Ruth, as she reported a longing for the law enforced during apartheid; in a sense, prioritising social order above freedom:

I was living in the apartheid years and I must say there was law and there was order [...] I see this universe now with the police, they want to see blood. You must lay in blood before they come and help you. (FG7; Hanover Park)

Ruth's narrative of law and order indeed depicts the longing that some community residents might have for social order, and the extent to which groups may go to achieve this lawfulness and justice. South African media representations of vigilantism were mainly negatively constructed through chaotic references to angry mobs and crowds. Buur and Jensen (2004) have however argued that these representations do not recognise the complexities behind vigilantism. For example, the first report above added that residents of

Eerste River allegedly “cheered and laughed after they brutally beat a suspected rapist and killer to death”. In applying Bakhtin’s (1986) theory to this kind of vigilantism, the cheer born out of ridiculing or rebelling authority is hypothesised to unify people, and in this case, civilians might be unified by ridiculing the ineffective state and criminal justice system whilst celebrating the justice they may have obtained. What needs to be noted is that this cheer is also born out of the perpetration of violence. The commonly employed discourse of a ‘culture of violence’, discussed in the introductory chapter, gives additional meaning to the way in which violence has become embedded in the wider South African culture and has become a normalised way of resolving conflict between groups. Representations of vigilantism also emerged amongst social network participants. Hanover Park social networks jointly narrated an experience about a drug-addict who was physically and financially abusing his grandmother, and how this injustice led them to take matters into their own hands:

Theresa: In our road, the grandchild is living with the granny, he’s on drugs [...] We were standing there on the corner [...] our neighbour come running down so she said um, “mummy come talk to this, this person there he’s fighting with his grandma”. His grandma is 84 years old and he is 24 years old. So he was fighting with his granny because she didn’t [want] to give him that money that she get. So she wanted to come out of the door and he grabbed his granny by her clothes and she fall to the back and he took the money out, out of her jacket or whatever she had on. [...] We came back, (how many were we?) We were about five girls.

Faheema: (Five).

Theresa: And we did hit him because this is not the first time that he’s doing this. His stepfather is working for the law enforcement [...] so they were on his side. They

didn't listen to us, they didn't listen to us. They wanted to lock us up so I was running [laughs].

Taryn: They wanted to lock you up?

Theresa: Yes, because we did fight with him [...] You see how the law works? You see. (FG4; Hanover Park)

Theresa's final remark, "You see how the law works?", summarises this political representation of vigilantism. Her statement spoke to the injustice and corruptness of the justice system in which the male perpetrator is protected by his stepfather who works for the law enforcement. The above exchange also reflects some of the community values made prominent during the time of District Six, in which crime was kept in check by older community members (Soudien, 2001). Youths who perpetrated crimes were viewed as 'everyone's children', and therefore, parents advocated for control and discipline of children to reduce crime in communities (Glaser, 2005). My shock and discomfort at how one act of violence could be considered immoral and wrong by law enforcers while another was conveniently and unlawfully overlooked made me empathise with these participants. It should be acknowledged that although the violence between the grandson and grandmother does not fall under the spectrum of intimate partner violence, it may still demonstrate the community residents' capacity to respond to public acts of violence.

As suggested by Vetten (2000), community responses to acts of violence are crucial markers of intolerance by civil society and should send messages to the State. These vigilante acts are also warnings that if the state officials do not hold perpetrators responsible, this cycle of violence will continue unceasingly (Vetten, 2000). These vigilante acts by communities

ought to be represented within a reparative reading, one that acknowledges the real, material consequences of the justice system's ineffectiveness. A report that emerged in the *Cape Argus* shared a passage by a well-known gender activist, Nomboniso Gasa and communicated her concerns regarding how we, as civilians, respond to the perpetration of violence:

“These are trying times in our society, but caution must be exercised even as we call for justice. It is unfortunate that the department has said that ‘rapists must rot in jail’. The language used in the statement, whilst it speaks to the frustration of people, is simply not appropriate with the constitution and the society we want to build.”

(“The constitution rules”, *Cape Argus*, 18 February 2013)

Gasa spoke to the care we must take in using non-violent language as violent language may have the effect of breeding hate. In reminding South African citizens of the Constitution, she also emphasised the message that treating everyone with dignity, despite the crime, is what our Constitution stands for. Gasa ultimately positioned justice through vengeance as opposing the South African Constitution, and justice through rehabilitation as aligned with it. In response to the outrage by South African citizens following the murder of Booysen and Steenkamp, Gouws (2013) and Shefer (2013) similarly critiqued the public response to gender justice, which at times advocated for violence and aggression towards perpetrators. Shefer (2013) argued that it is instead the very dominant ideas that condone violence that ought to be challenged.

In sum, a recent spurt of news reports were unearthed at the beginning of 2013 as various communities took a stand against gender-based violence, allowing that responsibility

could be taken by all South African citizens. Indeed, the message of responsibility is transformed in these news reports – there is a diversion from traditional responses and responsibility by the State and the criminal justice system, towards mobilising South African communities to take action against women abuse, which sometimes involved vigilantism. Vigilantism is a complex phenomenon, however, that needs to be interpreted within the social and material consequences of the justice system’s ineffectiveness, but also according to its tendency to perpetuate a ‘culture of violence’ in South Africa.

6.6 Chapter summary

The findings in this chapter spoke to the social representations of intimate partner violence, ‘victims’ and ‘perpetrators’, and the implications these representations may hold for responses to the perpetration of violence. Representations of the protector/protected emerged in the data, in which the vulnerabilities of men surfaced in their narrations of their abusive childhoods, and having to protect their mothers from harm. Chivalry and heroism were also noted as respectable performances by men, yet this subjectivity of ‘man as protector’ appeared to manifest in men’s intimate relationships as ‘man as dominator’. Men were also made to appear as victims and objects of their circumstances by social network members and within news reports.

Discourses of victim-blaming allowed for socio-cultural representations of the ‘bad’ woman and masochistic victim to become discernible in news reports, and amongst social network members. The normalisation of intimate partner violence as a private affair had a hand in shaping responses to IPV in communities – almost all social network participants

were found to construct public displays of intimate partner violence as a private event, not requiring intervention. The choice to avoid intervention was furthermore determined by participants' fears of becoming targets of violence, indicating the extent to which the communities studied might be silenced by fear. Counter-ideologies were however pertinent in that they unveiled instances when communities may have vocalised, or even fought against violence.

CHAPTER 7:

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study investigated the social representations of intimate partner violence amongst men, their social networks and in the media. A multifaceted array of representations surfaced, and emphasised the social aspects of IPV. Men's social representations of IPV were deeply influenced by an 'audience' of peers, kin and community members, and their ideas of what a man and woman ought to be and do. This study furthermore advanced a dialogue between socio-cultural norms of IPV that pervade Cape Town communities and the media, and this chapter will begin a discussion about this study's contributions, implications and recommendations. The first section offers a summary of the key findings, and the second discusses the theoretical contributions, followed by a review of the methodological implications. The fourth section speaks to the practical implications of this study, and the fifth section highlights recommendations for future research. The final section will summarise some of the main contributions of this research, followed by concluding remarks.

7.1 Summary of the findings

A summary of the key findings will be presented in the sections to follow and the way in which they served to address the study's research questions will be highlighted:

- *What* social representations of intimate partner violence emerge in men and their social networks' narratives, and in South African media's discourses?
- *How* do social representations of intimate partner violence emerge in men and their social networks' narratives, and in South African media's discourses?

Chapter Five and Six addressed the first aspect of the research questions by highlighting the emergence of two broader representations that surfaced in the data sets, namely, that of gender and respectability, and intimate partner violence: victims, perpetrators and responses. The following sub-sections will speak to the findings and how they served to attend to the second research question.

7.1.1 Social representations of gender and respectability. Chapter Five presented the social representations of gender and respectability, highlighting the way in which gender was made to appear as fixed categories of ‘man’ and ‘woman’. This chapter also attended to the research question in illustrating *how* representations of gender manifested within ‘seeds’ and their network members’ narratives of violence. For example, in representations of disciplining women, violence perpetration against women was anchored and objectified as a form of ‘discipline’ in seeds’ childhoods. As children, they learnt it was a central masculine performance to “fix” unruly women, and in adulthood these beliefs were reinforced through community representations of the king-queen and the floor-roof metaphors. The ‘seeds’ may have drawn upon these community representations in order to indicate that their own violence should be interpreted within broader social conditions that sanction men’s violence. Women empowerment ideals were also criticised by some male network members for providing girls and women space to stray from traditional feminine roles that secured respectability.

In the representation of women ‘doing’ masculinity, masculinised performances by women were verbally and sometimes physically chastised by men, and some of their network members. Drinking alcohol was strictly forbidden if women desired to call themselves respectable, whilst women who were forced to become providers for their families

encountered name-calling and condescending language by men, due to their unwelcomed masculine performances. In furthermore illustrating *how* representations of gender emerged in participants' narratives of VAW, it was argued that the ideological representation of respectability had the effect of limiting women's agency, an argument also supported by Campbell (1998). Furthermore, women who took out protection orders were accused by 'seeds' and male network members of using this symbol of power to control men into submission, which furthermore served to threaten their men partners' masculinities. Some women network members however argued that women are vulnerable to violence, and if women are in possession of protection orders, they ought to be fully utilised.

Representations of the *moffie* showed how men were also found to be monitored in their performances of reputable masculine behaviours. The men reported how the performance of violence perpetration is encouraged and respected in their communities, by audiences which include men and women. Emphasis was placed upon positioning women in narratives as preferring men who are stronger and tougher rather than men who seem 'feminine' yet heterosexual, such as the *moffie*. In relation to the research question, this representation may have been part of an instrumental discourse, allowing 'seeds' to show that violence perpetration against women is widely accepted and tolerated, even by women who may be victims of violence. However, some women were even reported – by 'seeds' and network members – to have physically disciplined 'feminised' men for straying from the expected and respected masculine performance. The women network members justified this violence against men by drawing upon a discourse of women empowerment, thereby implying that women who abuse men are acting as empowered women. Such justifications for partner violence do not underscore the wrongness of interpersonal violence, but rather

reinforces violence as a permissible ‘masculinised’ performance, regardless of who the performer is.

Men’s expressions of non-violence also signalled acts of agency; yet the ‘seeds’ spoke to the challenges and internal conflict that they faced in assimilating into their social circles and communities as non-violent men. This transformation process involved much turbulence for some ‘seeds’ who were making sense of their non-violent subjectivities within the context of conflicting representations of ‘old’ and ‘new’ masculinities, a finding also shared by Walker (2005). From a poststructuralist stance, it was noted how men, as narrating subjects, drew upon conflicting discourses of masculinity and violence, demonstrating the fluidity of subjectivity. Indeed, masculinities should not be named as either alternative or progressive but should rather be understood as, “new embryonic forms of male selfhood vying for space and expression” (Walker, 2005, p. 236). Although there appeared to be little space that might be afforded to ‘new’ hegemonic and egalitarian masculinities, some participants still drew upon counter-ideologies. These counter-ideologies that questioned the ‘gender laws’ in the communities were crucial in that they signalled opportunities for gender change.

The social representations of gender and respectability largely illustrated how gender was essentialised by participants. The ideological representations of respectability appear not only dominant, but fixed, in participants’ gendered narratives, making possibilities for imagining other gendered realities increasingly challenging. Men’s personal narratives were largely interlinked with social and community narratives of respectability, and were re-presented through the lens of race and class. Within the economic and social climate of the communities under study, it may also be argued that it is more accessible for men to perform a reputable masculinity, driven by status and violence, rather than a respectable masculinity that requires men to be financial providers. McDowell (2002) also argued that men and boys

may have to negotiate a balance between the respectable and non-respectable binary. Boys' reputations as 'lads' were advantageous in their peer groups in McDowell's (2002) study; yet this reputation did not gain them wider societal respect, which may have also been the case in the current study.

Another important discovery was that newspaper reports rarely featured within representations of gender and respectability, resulting in the media data's exclusion in Chapter Five. The current study argued that this dearth of gendered, feminist analyses by journalists in reports on violence against women might speak to the newspapers' conventions and well as the style of reporting expected of journalists. This issue of reporting styles and newspaper conventions is addressed in the section on Theoretical Implications.

7.1.2 Social representations of intimate partner violence: Victims, perpetrators and responses. In Chapter Six, social representations of intimate partner violence investigated how subjects narrated about 'victims' and 'perpetrators', and the implications re-presentation may hold for responses to violence. In addressing the research question's focus upon process, it was found that re-presentations of the 'protector' were anchored and objectified during men's childhood years, which were reportedly strewn with hardship and adversity. At times, men narrated about situations in which they sacrificed their own safety in order to protect their mothers from abusive fathers or partners. Representations of men as protectors, chivalrous and heroic emerged within men's narratives of their own violence against women partners. However, this subjectivity of 'man as protector' appeared to manifest in men's intimate relationships as 'man as dominator'. In contrast, men perpetrators of violence were positioned as 'objects' and victims of their circumstances by social network members, and within news reports. In the context of these contradictory representations of

protector/protected, the men expressed positions of both power and powerlessness, and these subject positions may have allowed perpetrators to escape accountability for their violence. These discursive practices also worked simultaneously to represent women as either in need of protection or as objects of abuse and control. Counter-narratives of responsibility were drawn upon by a woman network member who argued that some men do exercise agency in their perpetration of violence, despite being intoxicated.

In terms of women ‘victims’ of violence, narrations of victim-blaming allowed for socio-cultural representations of the ‘bad’ woman and masochistic victim to become discernible in news reports, and amongst social network members. Women who adhered to respectable signs of femininity were constructed as valid ‘victims’ of violence; yet, those who held rough, sexually impure subjectivities of femininity were represented as non-valid and undeserving of being constructed as a ‘victim’ – which was emphasised particularly in the *Daily Voice*. Although Washer and Joffe (2006) contended that primarily ‘innocent’ victims of AIDS were given a voice or face in the media, in the current study, valid and non-valid victims of violence were both given ‘voice’ as a way of reinforcing categories of the good/bad woman.

In addressing the question of how representations of violence emerged in the media data, it was observed that anchoring via basic antinomies (Hoijer, 2011) were considerably present across the data sets in this study. Anchoring via antinomies indicated the extent to which violence against women was made sense of through dualisms, which often resulted in ‘othering’ and exclusion (Billig, 1993; Douglas, 1970; Marková, 2003). It is indeed a property of social representations to limit and exclude certain realities (Howarth, 2006). In addition, this hegemonic story of victim-blaming filtered into network members’ narratives, in which non-valid victims were constructed as the ‘other’; the ‘outsiders’ who are judged by

the in-group of 'respectable' community members. As Gopal and Chetty (2006) argued, cultural beliefs that normalise patriarchy make it challenging for community members to seriously recognise the scourge of violence against women resulting in mistaken beliefs that victims are responsible for their own victimisation (Bendall, 2010).

Another important finding emerging from this research surrounded ideas about newsworthiness. Extreme forms of sexual and physical violence as well as intimate femicide and female homicide were represented. The current study also noted that reports focused on violence against women more frequently than on IPV in both newspapers. Although both these phenomena require equal attention, newsmakers tended to prioritise one over the other in the name of newsworthiness. Representations of private/public violence indicated the extent to which IPV is perceived as a private event across the data, and it appears that through minimal reporting on IPV, the media tend to be complicit in reinforcing this re-presentation of 'private' partner violence. Newsworthiness was also critiqued by some network members for normalising and constructing the everyday conditions of crime and violence in their communities as insignificant. These findings point to an urgent need for transformation within the media's coverage on such social phenomena. Representations of newsworthiness and normalisation have serious implications for the way in which community members might respond to acts of IPV.

The normalisation of intimate partner violence as a private affair had a hand in shaping responses to IPV in communities. Almost all social network members were found to construct public displays of intimate partner violence as a private event, not requiring intervention, whilst police officials appeared to respond with similar reasoning. Regardless of the work done to expose intimate partner violence from a private, hidden matter to a public phenomenon requiring appropriate responses (Boonzaier, 2008), this research shows that the

responses victims might encounter are still far from adequate. Violence was experienced differently depending on the material and spatial conditions within which it took place, as well as according to the level of respectability practiced by community residents in particular 'courts'. The choice to avoid intervention was furthermore crucially determined by social networks members' fears of becoming targets of violence, indicating the extent to which the communities studied might be silenced by fear. Beliefs about victims and offenders were also offered as justifications for not stopping or intervening in violent acts. Indeed, the findings illustrate that responses to VAW are dynamic and that while one response to violence might be beneficial to perpetrators or onlookers, the same response might have negative psychological, emotional and behavioural outcomes for victims.

Counter-ideologies of vigilantism and community action, however, revealed instances when communities may have vocalised, or even resisted violence. These counter-ideologies served to attend to the research question by highlighting the processes behind re-presenting and resisting. While non-violent movements and campaigns against violence have taken place, it is the violent struggles of vigilantism that call for transformative practices within and by the criminal justice system. Overall, the findings importantly point to the inadequacies of powerful institutions in South Africa – namely the criminal justice system, the state and the media – in insufficiently problematising and responding to violence against women.

The next section begins a discussion about the theoretical contributions of this study. The three key contributions foreground by this study are: 1) the relationship between media discourses, and lay representations of violence against women, 2) contributions towards a developing body of scholarship on South African masculinities and violence, and 3) the emergence of local representations that play an integral part in conceptualising IPV as a social act. These key contributions will be referenced throughout this chapter, alongside other

important findings which also relate to discussions around theoretical, methodological and practical contributions.

7.2 Theoretical contributions and implications

This section discusses the theoretical contributions and implications of the findings, and it attends to three main areas of work: media discourses and lay representations, masculinities and violence, and institutional discourses and lay representations of IPV.

7.2.1 Media discourses and lay representations. One of the major contributions foreground by this study was its investigation into the relationship between printed media discourse and lay representations of violence against women. It was found that lay representations largely echoed media discourses of violence against women, which was illustrated in representations of victim-blaming. Media discourses of victim-blaming represented the non-valid victim as responsible for the violence perpetrated against her; whilst lay representations by network members were found to echo these media discourses. The link between blame and the out-group came to be anchored and objectified as afflicting only ‘foreign’ identities – that of poor coloured women who are short of respectability and who supposedly wish to be abused. Another way in which victim-blaming representations emerged within news reports was through reductionist and simplistic portrayals of violence against women. Despite news media’s attempts to position ‘newsmakers’ as unbiased and fair in their reporting, scholars have shown the way in which newsmakers engage in a highly subjective and selective process of news production based upon socially constructed principles and ‘rules’ which define the position from which reports are written (Berns, 1999;

Bullock, 2007; Fowler, 1991; Gilchrist, 2010; Jewkes, 2004). The findings from this study contribute towards this body of work that critically reflects on media coverage and messages about violence against women within the South African context.

The current study also found that significantly fewer reports on violence against women were published in the *Cape Argus* in comparison to the *Daily Voice*. These newspapers aim to draw different readerships; for example, the Argus describes itself as a “quality” newspaper, “unashamedly written for Cape Town’s broader middle to upper class” (see Appendix J); while the *Daily Voice* tabloid is devoted to providing “outrageous, thrilling, and entertaining” reading for working class people, alongside the aim to capture everyday life of the Cape community (see Appendix I). By making coverage on VAW primarily available to readers of the *Daily Voice*, it may then imply that IPV is predominantly a problem for poorer marginalised groups. As Foster (2006) argued, if social groups are not exposed to wider representations of mental ill health, for example, it may influence how the phenomenon at hand is understood. In comparing the *Cape Argus* and *Daily Voice* news report outputs, this study offers a unique theoretical contribution to literature, which considers the way in which newspaper conventions might perpetuate myths of IPV.

The current study also feeds into the growing theoretical base of South African printed media literature that aims to explain the media’s insufficient focus upon gender and sexuality. Very few reports in this study’s sample pointed to power and control over women, patriarchy, and misogyny as characteristic of men’s violence against women, other than the article titled “SA female killings six times the global average”. Lewis and Orderson (2012) argued that the dominant discourses of violence against women – and the way in which they emerge in the media – might be a reflection of the laws that control the media. In order for newspapers to sell, reporters and editors might avoid covering topics about groups who may

be perceived as having little political power (Lewis & Orderson, 2012). Issues of gender and sexuality are often constructed as feminised “soft issues” (p. 31), and these are often the topics being subjugated by more masculinised areas such as commerce, the economy, government and mainstream politics (Lewis & Orderson, 2012) – topics which are prioritised in the *Cape Argus* (see Appendix J).

It was also found in Bullock’s (2007) study that domestic violence news coverage in Utah newspapers relied heavily upon “factual, unattributed information” (p. 46) and mainly used official sources, such as police, lawyers and court documents to corroborate information. As a result, the articles predominantly focused upon the input of male-dominated institutions for domestic violence cases, failing to highlight the gender inequalities and male power that play a cardinal role in the perpetration of men’s violence against women (Bullock, 2007). This lack of gendered analysis in newspapers may thus be the outcome of masculinised expert forms of knowledge that are drawn upon by journalists to corroborate reports, as well as newspaper conventions that favour masculinised topics. More so, in excluding a focus upon the gendered aspect of violence against women and in positioning men ‘perpetrators’ as pathological products of society, the complex issues constituting violence against women are simultaneously silenced (Buiten & Salo, 2007).

The present study furthermore adds to the body of media and communication research that critically assesses the style of reporting adopted by newspapers. Despite the substantial amount of reports that focused on violence against women in the *Daily Voice* in this study, chronic portrayals of women as non-valid victims appeared to emerge, thereby re-presenting misconceptions about VAW. As noted by Buthelezi (2007), increased reporting on violence gives the impression that the media is challenging this social problem; yet it is the style of reporting that deserves attention. Therefore, some attention needs to be turned to tabloid

journalism. As reviewed in Chapter Three, mixed analyses of tabloids exist, which typically divide media scholars into two camps: one which critiques tabloids for turning news into “trivia” (Curran & Seaton, 2003; Grisprud, 1992; Lewis & Orderson, 2012, p. 26; Morna & Ndlovu, 2007; Örnebring & Jönsson, 2004; Wasserman, 2008, 2010), and the second which recognises the ‘voice’ that tabloids provide for the working-class majority in South Africa, who remain on the margins in post-apartheid mainstream print media (Steenveld, 2004; Strelitz & Steenveld, 2005; Wasserman, 2008, 2010). The current study acknowledges the arguments from both these schools of thought, however, it places significant emphasis upon the harmful representations of violence against women that may serve to encourage rather than prevent this social problem. More importantly, because tabloids have become associated with marginalised voices, harmful representations of victim-blaming and those that serve to protect ‘perpetrators’ may then become associated with the tabloid’s working-class readership. Indeed, a platform designed to privilege the disenfranchised might have the indirect effect of stereotyping and stigmatising impoverished groups as those that ‘draw’ violence and crime.

7.2.2. Masculinities and violence. This study feeds into a developing body of scholarship on South African masculinities and violence. The following sections on masculinity and vulnerability, and intergenerational abuse will highlight this study’s theoretical contributions towards the field of men, masculinities and violence.

7.2.2.1 Discourses of male vulnerability. The findings in the current study contribute towards emergent discourses of male vulnerabilities in South Africa and beyond. This study’s findings showed how technologies of individual and social domination served to reinforce the

re-presentation of violent, rather than ‘soft’ masculinities. Social network members attempted to position men as victims and ‘objects’ of their violence perpetration; yet, violent men were simultaneously held in high regard by ‘seeds’ and their networks, as respected and feared individuals. These conflicting subject positions illustrated that gender is a performance and a social practice that is constantly being re-enacted, and the findings also showed that occasionally, masculinity is also re-enacted by girls and women. Violence was represented as gendered and particularly as a masculinised performance – a finding also noted in other South African work by Boonzaier and de la Rey (2004). Constructions of violence as a masculinised performance allowed that ‘masculinised’ or ‘dominating’ women physically discipline ‘feminised’ men for departing from their expected heterosexual masculine performances.

Some scholars have argued that women might be complicit in reinforcing men’s adherence to the patriarchal order (hooks, 2004; Walker, 2005), marginalising men’s performances of vulnerability, which is considered outside the hegemonic discourses of masculinity (Clowes, 2013). In hooks (2004) words, “Patriarchy rewards men for being out of touch with their feelings” (p. 70) and excludes men who perform a form of masculinity outside patriarchy. Vetten and Ratele (2013) argued that this discourse of vulnerability and victimisation is still strongly linked to femininity; yet lacks a presence within public and policy discourse on masculinity. Although the South African *Victim Empowerment Programme*, for example, has been adjusted from its exclusive focus upon women and children to include all individuals (i.e., men, women, girls and boys) as victims of crime (Department of Social Development, 2009), it is argued that representations of masculine vulnerability still remain on the peripheries of public discourse (Vetten & Ratele, 2013). Furthermore this lack of vulnerability language for men may have the additional effect of

reinforcing discourses of female vulnerability, weakness and helplessness. Therefore, this study's findings also have implications for the ways in which policy and campaigns for 'victims' of violence are framed within public discourse, which will be further unpacked under the section on Practical Implications.

7.2.2.2 Intergenerational abuse. These findings contribute towards an existing trajectory of research that highlights intergenerational abuse as a contributing factor for men's perpetration of violence. It is crucial to pay attention not only to the violence men perpetrated but also to the structural 'violences' and childhood adversities that men may have endured. As Mathews and colleagues (2011) argued, "there is no linear relationship between traumatic childhood experiences and adopting violent masculinities" (p. 15), indicating that multiple contributing factors interact to influence men's perpetration of violence as adults. The majority of the men's journeys into violence perpetration reportedly began with abusive, broken childhoods involving harsh discipline by caregivers, and emotionally distant and problematic parenting. In addition, structural conditions in which poverty, gang violence, drugs and crime were highly prevalent also shaped men's childhoods. The complex interaction of their experiences was shown to produce an emotionally and psychologically turbulent sense of self, which appeared to impact on men's perpetration of violence in adulthood.

It was also noted in social representations of disciplining women that children are socialised to respect and obey their elders (Campbell, 1998), which may also involve extreme methods of 'discipline' and corporal punishment to enforce control (Guma & Henda, 2004). The present findings feed into psychological, psychoanalytic and psychosocial criminological perspectives that speak to the effects of childhood traumas, and the way in which

psychosocial issues might find expression through violence (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007; Mathews et al., 2013; Mathews et al., 2011, 2014; Siegel, 2006; Siegel & Forero, 2012).

7.2.3 Institutional discourses and lay representations of IPV. The present research draws attention to the relationship between state discourses and lay representations of IPV, which is a crucial addition to the existing research on institutional influences for the perpetration of IPV. In this study, it was observed that ‘seeds’ and network members reproduced stigmatising representations of women victims, which might have been shaped by inadequate and inaccessible protection services that make ‘victims’ appear passive in their abusive relationships. Victim-blaming representations were also echoed by police officials, and although network members disparaged police officials for their complacency in arresting perpetrators, participants also drew upon victim-blaming representations. These findings may speak to the presence of cognitive polyphasia, which relates to the complexities of having multiple representations of the same ‘object’.

The current study also problematised social policy discourse, and highlighted the way in which policy might act as a contributing factor towards IPV. Scholars such as Tsirogianni and Andreouli (2011) and Kessi (2011) have shown the way in which state policies might serve to reinforce stigmatising representations of marginalised groups. In this study, blame was not only directed at ‘non-valid victims’ but it was also partially laid at the door of the criminal justice system and politicians for ineffectively addressing violence against women. In terms of South African law and social policy, it has been argued that much responsibility is placed upon victims of crime to access protection services (Proudlock, Mathews & Jamieson, 2014). The National Policy Guidelines for Victim Empowerment (2009) provides a plan for the delivery of services to victims of violence and acknowledges women and children as a

priority (Department of Social Development, 2009). However, according to Proudlock and colleagues (2014), neither of these policies places a “firm obligation” (p. 193) on the state to deliver these services, and in the process, much of the responsibility is placed upon victims to access these services. The next section begins a discussion about the methodological contributions and implications of the key findings emerging from this study.

7.3 Methodological contributions and implications

This study offers a unique contribution to the current collection of IPV research, due to its employment of an integrated methodology and its particular set of research questions, which investigate representations of IPV amongst men, their networks, and in the media. The sections to follow will reflect upon this study’s methodological contributions in terms of the methods employed for the data collection and the theoretical framework.

7.3.1 Data collection methods. This study employed a combination of data collection methods, which included interviews, focus groups and a printed media analysis to explore representations of IPV. This combination of data collection techniques and this study’s research questions, are new additions to the study of IPV in South Africa. In terms of data collection methods, Joffe (1998) has however critiqued the social representations’ repertoire of studies for their dependence upon verbal data, since other methods might also be useful for discovering implicit symbolic features. Other methods that might tap into symbolic material might be word association tasks, drawings and participant observation (Joffe, 1998), some of which were employed in the current study. In this study, drawing methods and word association tasks indeed opened another cognitive pathway into symbolic representational

material; however, it also proved to be slightly challenging for ‘seeds’ who did not feel comfortable drawing pictures or who felt the task was unfamiliar to them. The present study therefore highlights the importance of the verbal data in that it offered a lens through which to examine ideological representations and discursive practices. This study’s unique theoretical framework placed much emphasis upon language as a gateway to subjectivity and power, thereby demonstrating the possibilities for social representations studies in utilising verbal data. Furthermore, the focus group data allowed for a glimpse into how gendered representations are negotiated amongst men and women. Shared co-constructed narratives emerged considerably within same-sex focus groups – a prime example of such an instance was in the focus group in which women participants disrupted the representation of passive victims of violence and instead actively voiced their frustrations with the South African justice system. Feminine subjectivities that work to resist *emphasised femininities* might be greeted with increased marginalisation and stigmatisation by others who conform to the patriarchal ideal (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010); which might explain why much of the questioning of taken-for-granted ideas surfaced amongst this all-female focus group.

7.3.2 Theoretical framework. This study contributes towards the development of the field of social representations theory in South Africa. Largely, as a Eurocentric theory, the present study evaluates the usefulness and suitability for this theory in the South African context, which is still in its infancy. The theory of social representations began as a Western initiative to explain social knowledge, to demonstrate the interaction between different knowledge systems, and to explore the practices of group discrimination. The works of de-Graft Aikins (2002), Joffe (1995), Kessi (2011), Wagner and colleagues (2000), to name a few, have attempted to go beyond the application of SRT in Western contexts, towards other

developing contexts, such as Asia and Africa. This study is the first of its kind in that it offers an exploration of IPV in South Africa by utilising SRT as a theoretical framework. Therefore a critical discussion is necessary regarding the theory's contributions and implications for the advancement of violence research in South Africa. In order to accentuate the analysis of language, knowledge and power, this study paired social representations theory with the feminist poststructuralist approach. Reflections on the contributions of the theoretical approach address three areas: social practices and subjectivity, agency and structure, and expert and common sense knowledge.

7.3.2.1 Social practices and subjectivity. While Billig's (1988) conceptualisation of an 'arguing society' depicts the conflict and debate that is crucial for the development and maintenance of re-presentation, this study's findings also point to the importance of the internal conflict(s) that re-presentation might spark. The 'seeds' in this study often spoke to their multiple belongings, which became apparent when having to distinguish between representations that were mentioned against those that were used. As highlighted in Chapter Three, the difference between using and mentioning a representation was argued to require critical analysis. The 'seeds' often adopted a 'now and then' structure to their narratives thereby indicating that at one time representations that condoned violence may have been a 'truth' for them, but as non-violent men these representations no longer held true. Although these representations might have informed the way in which the men experienced their realities at one time, they may also find ways to resist such representations, opening possibilities for social change.

The tensions and conflicts within participants' accounts relates to the complexities of identity work and identity management practices. A poststructuralist reading allowed for the

analysis of ambiguity and the instability of subjectivity, which was found to allow ‘seeds’ to take up different – and sometimes conflicting – subject positions (Weedon, 1987). Shifts in subjectivity, for example, allowed ‘seeds’ to establish some distance from their past violent selves and a dissociation from the label of ‘abuser’, a finding that also emerged in Lau and Stevens’ (2012) study. Lau and Stevens (2012) attributed these subjectivity shifts to strategic and emotional decisions, allowing men to be viewed in a particular light in interview contexts. In reflexively evaluating these moments in my interviews with the men, it was noted that men often attempted to accomplish chivalry and position me within a traditional discourse of femininity.

Men’s identities as either ‘perpetrators’ or ‘villains’ were frequently discarded in favour of more positive subjectivities. By incorporating an analysis of cognitive polyphasia which acknowledges the contradictory and fluid features of subjectivity, it allowed for an analysis of the various subject positionings that men participants took up. This study contributes towards the ongoing debates about the difference between naming and practicing re-presentation. These findings also have important implications for programmes and practitioners (Lau & Stevens, 2012; LeCouteur & Oxlad, 2011), which will be discussed in a later section on Practical Implications.

7.3.2.2 Agency and structure. Through the application of SRT, it was shown that partner violence is largely defined by social and structural norms, and thus, an individual’s agency should be understood in the context of structural and societal norms. The notion of social representations was developed to challenge the concept of ‘collective’ representations, which theorised about ‘uniform’ social knowledge. Rather, social knowledge is shaped by multiple factors, and it is thus important to recognise the individual as embedded and shaped

by social structures (Hoijer, 2011). In this study, although the ‘perpetrator’ was re-presented by some as an active agent in the perpetration of violence, other conflicting representations positioned boys and men in marginalised communities as victims of crime, gang violence and drugs. Hence, re-presentation was not a wholly autonomous endeavour in this study, since agency was largely influenced by social structures. While Western societies might largely be defined by individualism, the extent to which the social defines the individual in this study’s social setting cannot be underestimated. Indeed the appellation of ‘social’ points to the social aspects of representations (Hoijer, 2011), and the present research shows that the social held significant power in shaping individuals’ lived realities in this study.

7.3.2.3 Expert knowledge and the media. The theoretical framework furthermore provided a unique take on the relationship between expert knowledge, media discourses and lay representations of IPV. The findings from this study showed how discourses of feminism were set aside in favour of biological discourses that essentialise and fix gender/sex categories. These representational binaries are largely associated with Western assumptions (Douglas, 1970), but were also largely embedded within South African public discourse, as noted in this study’s findings. Various scholars have argued that categories of ‘woman’ and ‘man’ are largely reflective of legal discourse (Carlson & Randell, 2013; Hester & colleagues, 1996; Meer, 2013). The legal conceptualisation of gender is viewed according to categories, rather than relationally, and such legal ‘talk’ has been argued to result in the depoliticisation of feminist gains at the cost of marginalised women’s oppression (Meer, 2013). Ideas about the gendered aspects of violence – primarily put forward by feminist thinkers – rarely emerge as a public discourse, and is instead lost in the discourse of “dysfunctional families and female inadequacies [...] the psychopathic stranger, the deranged

rapist or serial killer” (Gopal & Chetty, 2006, p. 122). Indeed, the present findings indicate that lay representations of IPV largely echoed the biologist, religious and legal forms of expert knowledge, which appeared to prevail above feminist knowledge.

In reflecting on Moscovici’s (1988) theorisations about the media being a tool to translate expert knowledge into common sense knowledge, the current study found that this clear-cut process was not always the case. Expert opinion was rarely drawn upon in news reports and if it was, only segments of expert insight were offered, as noted earlier in this chapter. The absence of feminist explanations was noted to be highly problematic in that the highly gendered features of IPV and the underlying practices of power and control, inherent in acts of violence, were silenced. The minimum employment of expert knowledge might misrepresent the full range of knowledge that experts are able to provide for reports on violence against women, and may furthermore highlight the presence of bias in journalists’ inclusion of expert opinion (Berns, 1999). This study, therefore, makes a significant contribution in terms of exploring this relationship between expert knowledge and media discourses of VAW. It was observed that the media takes up much autonomy in shaping messages for the public, rather than being shaped by expert knowledge.

The implications of the one-directional relationship between expert and common sense knowledge were also considered in the current study. Lay representations were found to echo, resist and challenge various forms of expert knowledge, thereby contesting the idea of a hierarchy of knowledge. Feminist poststructuralist inquiry might go even as far as to say that such divisions of knowledge (and therefore power) are unlikely, since power is fluid and is not in the possession of groups or individuals (Davies & Gannon, 2005). This language of ‘lay’ and ‘expert’ also reinforces notions of power and oppression that researchers have been accused of in their treatment of participants (Parker, 2005). This study advocates for an

awareness of the implications of this language that attempts to fix hierarchies of knowledge, and concurs with Andreouli and Howarth (2012) that the ‘reified’ knowledge practiced by the state (and other institutions of expert knowledge) interacts with the ‘consensual’ knowledge practiced by society. Indeed, lay and expert knowledge are not isolated from each other. This study therefore adds to the debates about the links between expert and common sense knowledge (see Foster, 2003; Howarth et al., 2004). It also recognises that both forms of knowledge might hold significant power in shaping each other and shaping social practice.

7.4 Practical contributions

This study has significant meaning for reducing violence in South Africa. The following subsections will speak to the practical contributions offered by this research for addressing IPV offered, according to the following areas of concern: prevention programmes; intervention programmes for ending violence; the state and criminal justice system; and the media.

7.4.1 Prevention programmes. The findings suggest that the implementation of prevention and early intervention programmes are urgently rolled out for children who encounter and witness violence. This recommendation is based upon the findings that pointed to the prevalence of intergenerational abuse and the trajectory of research that speaks to the ongoing psychosocial aftermath of this abuse. Such programmes might have great meaning for reducing the long-term intergenerational effects of abuse. Although South Africa has legislation and policy frameworks in place, child abuse is mainly addressed through a medico-legal perspective. However, therapeutic responses that attend to the psychosocial and emotional needs of children – and their families – are disregarded (Mathews et al., 2013;

Proudlock et al., 2014). Furthermore, scarce resources and a dearth of skills at health facilities contribute towards ineffective treatment deliveries for abused children in South Africa (Mathews et al., 2012).

Mathews and colleagues (2012) thus advocated for a state-supported, multi-sectoral response, which is based upon successful models of care in order to achieve long-term recovery for survivors. Furthermore, bolstering family support and parent-child relationships might have a strong impact upon preventing child abuse, and might assist with reducing long-term psychosocial consequences (Mathews et al., 2013; Proudlock et al., 2014). The current study's findings support Mathews and colleagues (2012) practical recommendations for violence prevention, and argue for the need to develop more effective prevention and early intervention programmes that aid in tackling problematic masculinity practices, which involve control over women and children, as well as the social norms that render women and girls compliant and vulnerable to men. It might also be useful to direct such prevention programmes at parents, assisting them in re-thinking patriarchal practices that might produce violent masculinities.

Furthermore, although substance abuse is often employed as a justificatory strategy by men for their perpetration of violence (Walker, 2001), the current study nonetheless acknowledges the realistic challenges and effects of substance abuse in influencing unhealthy, destructive behaviours of children and adults. This study also acknowledges that attending to substance abuse in communities should involve a long-term strategy, as suggested by Matzopoulos and colleagues (2008), as it might attend to long-term outcomes of reducing risky, destructive and aggressive behaviours, and fatalities in communities.

7.4.2 Ending violence: An individual vs. social concern. It was a key finding in this study that violence is, to a large degree, seen as a social event rather than purely as an individual act. This finding has important practical implications. In re-presenting change, ‘seeds’ narrated about their desire to be different from many of their peers, father figures and community members who condone violence against women, and to reclaim their lives. However, this study also speaks to the difficulties men might experience in forging a genuine change towards non-violence, despite their attendance at men’s programmes. CASE (2014) and Hearts of Men (2014) understand the individual to be part of the community, and in “transforming one member at a time” (CASE, 2014), it is their aim to create a healthy cycle of individuals, families and communities. Hearts of Men primarily targets men in their community, and facilitates intensive personal development and mentorship training modules (HOM, 2014). CASE similarly focuses upon creating awareness around the effects of violence, whilst training and skills are offered to strengthen the community (CASE, 2014). Despite the NGOs’ attempts to involve community members in the struggle against violence and crime, the ‘seeds’ in the current study still refer to their non-violent transformation as a lonely endeavour, at times resulting in social exclusion.

In a recent study by van Niekerk and Boonzaier (2014) it was found that South African men’s change towards non-violence wavered once the support structures offered at the perpetrator programme were no longer present. Because men’s environment outside the programme may not have changed, they may struggle to maintain non-violence in the context of communities and relationships where violence may have been acceptable (van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2014). The current findings have vital implications for interventions to end violence. The findings confirm that community beliefs and practices involving violence against women – and how it relates to structural forms of oppression – need to be addressed,

rather than to employ an approach which investigates men in isolation of their environments (Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005). More so, representations that condone violence against women were held by network members, indicating that intervening only amongst men ‘perpetrators’ might be considerably ineffective in reducing violence. Social change is indeed a complex process that infiltrates the individual, group and institutional spheres (Morrell, 2001), which has meaning for how gender activists aim to intervene and promote masculinities that are “more peaceful and harmonious” (p. 7).

Tsirogianni and Andreouli (2011) spoke to the notion of ‘fusing horizons’ and “reviving solidarities” (p. 5.19) to gain collective commitment to creating social change. They furthermore drew upon Gergen’s (2009) ideas around ‘relational responsibility’, which emphasises collective action and a commitment to moral responsibility. More importantly, ‘relational responsibility’ goes beyond holding only the individual accountable and advocates for the collaborative accountability between communities, institutions, and the state. This relational responsibility approach to intervention is cultivated by compassion for others, and primarily acknowledges the way in which institutions and communities have the power to shape individual thought (Tsirogianni & Andreouli, 2011). The current study advocates for the relational responsibility approach in its capacity to recognise the collective accountability that ought to be taken up in a) ending violence, b) instigating social change, and c) supporting ‘perpetrators’ in maintaining their change towards non-violence. This approach is also useful in its capacity to forge collaborations between communities, institutions and the state, which is discussed next.

7.4.3 The state and criminal justice system: Reinforcing a discourse of responsibility. This study strongly advocates for the states’ dedicated involvement in the

fight against VAW. Although some strategies have been put in place, their full impact has been compromised by a lack of commitment by the state. For example, Sonke Gender Justice operates across Africa to strengthen the state and civil society in the struggle for gender equality, the prevention of violence against women and children, and to reduce the impact and prevalence of HIV and AIDS (Sonke Gender Justice, 2014). Sonke has also played an integral part in gathering men to prevent gender violence, and their largest project – the One Man Can Campaign – serves as an outreach programme to educate men about health and to challenge harmful gender norms (IOM & Sonke Training Manual, 2009). This project has also been highlighted as an example of best practice by United Nations (UN) organisations, World Health Organisation (WHO), UNAIDS and the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) (Peacock, 2013). According to Sonke, the key strategies for preventing violence include (Peacock, 2013):

- Interventions that change men's attitudes, expectations and practices related to gender
- Developing and consistently implementing laws that deter gender violence
- Establishing family laws and related policies and programmes that allow women to leave controlling relationships and that grant women greater financial autonomy and increased ability to participate in the workforce
- Reducing access to and abuse of alcohol
- Critically, protecting children from exposure to domestic violence and to harsh physical punishment. (p. 132)

There have, however, been challenges to the implementation of Sonke's work, some of which include concerns around the extent to which their community education strategies can reach and mobilise all men across the country, as well as getting the government to stand by their obligations to address the problem of violence (Peacock, 2013). An observation noted by Proudlock and colleagues (2014) and Peacock (2013) is that South Africa's legal and policy advocacy is able to effectively address violence; however, the poor implementation by the state hinders Sonke's (and other NGOs) progress. Indeed despite being recognised as having one of the most progressive gender legislations, South African policy is nonetheless undermined by poor execution and a lack of state commitment (Peacock, 2013; Proudlock et al., 2014), and a dearth of financial and human resources (Abrahams et al., 2004; Parenzee et al. 2001). Hearts of Men (2014) also highlighted some of their primary challenges to be associated with a lack of financial and personnel resources, alongside an absence of research-based evaluations on their programmes. These infrastructural limitations do indeed obstruct the functioning of such NGOs, and the current study furthermore argues that a firm obligation needs to be placed on the state to bring these community projects to fruition.

Mama (1995) argued, however, that because of the role of the colonial and postcolonial state in defining the domestic space, the state would not be an ideal mechanism for change. She added that grassroots, non-state based responses to violence in post-colonial Africa might offer the most possibilities for fighting against domestic violence (Mama, 1995). In the current study, the social representation of an ineffective justice system may also reinforce ideas that society should turn elsewhere to bring VAW under control. The role of civilians in creating political upheaval has reoccurred in the historical narrative of South Africa, at times with positive outcomes. This study noted that vigilantism – referred to in the

newspaper data and amongst social network members – needs to be interpreted within the consequences of the justice system’s ineffectiveness, but also according to vigilantism’s tendency to perpetuate a ‘culture’ of violence in South Africa. The findings from this study instead suggest that communities and the state need to work hand in hand in incorporating local representations of gender and IPV in the development of programmes and campaigns. Andreouli and Howarth (2012) argued that community bottom-up resistance and top-down institutional practices are all important in creating social change.

In rare cases, state-funded projects, such as those in Uganda and Tanzania, have proven effective (Mama, 1995). These projects were led by officials elected by civilians and through successful media campaigns. Burrill and colleagues (2010) argued that these successes were linked to the fact that the responses were born out of localised knowledge, and supported by international organisations. Andreouli, Howarth and Sonn (2014) and Campbell and Jovchelovitch (2000) argued that ideas about social change have resulted in community mobilisation approaches which work to empower and encourage participation from local communities in intervention programmes. Andreouli and colleagues’ (2014) approach, as well as the current study, underscores the role of the local community in generating change, alongside the support of wider social and structural institutions that can provide the necessary resources to implement intervention programmes. Gathering community members and fostering a sense of unity is therefore important in beginning conversations that counteract representations and responses that lead to the continuation of violence as a normative response.

The research findings also suggest that it would be beneficial to advocate for the training of police officials. It was discovered that the police response to the women social network members were certainly more than inadequate and unlikely to protect them from

future violence. This study's findings substantiate earlier critiques levelled against South African Police Service for the insensitive, ignorant, and hostile treatment of victims of violence (Gopal & Chetty, 2006; Mathews & Abrahams, 2001), despite attempts by the National Crime Prevention Strategy to make violence against women a priority crime within South African police strategic plans (Abrahams et al., 2004). As Crenshaw (1994, p. 7) so accurately noted, "Women of color are often reluctant to call the police, a hesitancy likely due to a general unwillingness among people of color to subject their private lives to the scrutiny and control of a police force that is frequently hostile". Scholars, such as Crenshaw (1994) and Rich and Grey (2005), have even gone as far as to say that the avoidance of public or police intervention may be a "community ethic" (Crenshaw, 1994, p. 7), influenced by the need to steer clear of onslaughts on the racially subordinated people of the community. Race, historical location, culture and material conditions influence the way in which violence against women is experienced, and the extent to which it can be dealt with in some communities. Following Gopal and Chetty's (2006) suggestions for short-term methods of improving the way in which policy is carried out, some solutions might involve strict monitoring of police stations, more training for police officials, and a 'naming and shaming' policy providing an incentive scheme to either demerit problematic police stations or officials, or to reward good performance.

7.4.4 The media: Developing campaigns and training journalists. The way in which participants in this study essentialise gender roles and violence as a gendered practice may have meaning for how intervention programmes or campaigns ought to be framed within the public eye (Farr, 1993; Wagner et al., 2000). The possibilities for gender change have been examined in the context of the essentialist (e.g. biologist perspectives) and social

constructionist (e.g. feminist perspectives) camps. Elliott (2003) argued that some men might be viewed as essentialist since they conceive of their violence as deterministic and innate, and thus in proposing gender change it may be necessary to communicate in light of these essentialist beliefs. He suggested that social constructionist views might have much less impact on changing men's ideas about manhood and violence, whilst essentialist modes of thought may have more success in advocating for a 'masculinity' that is related to an "essential goodness and fairness" (Elliott, 2003, p. 4). Elliott (2003) suggested that through this 'essentialist-driven' intervention strategy, men may be motivated to attain this inherent peaceful manhood.

In contrast, Seidler (1996) suggested that essentialised ways of depicting men through judgments such as "all men are violent" or "all men are potential rapists" (p. 63) may have men internalise a negative sense of masculinity, and may also produce guilt. The current study instead aligns itself with Bordo's (1999) view, which advocates for a middle-ground between the essentialist and constructionist camps. As Bordo (1999) argued: "When social construction is taken to an extreme, as it is by some, it goes against my grain as much as simpleminded biological determinism" (p. 263). The current study concurs with Bordo (1999) that refraining from accentuating differences between girls and boys, and women and men might be a route to curbing violence and aggression, and may be a valuable practical contribution in framing campaigns for the public.

The findings from this study also underscore the importance of training journalists and editors, and alerting them to the implications of their journalistic language and writing traditions. Steenveld (2004) argued that a change in news coverage will only be achieved once there is a parallel transformation with journalist training, as well as a deconstruction of the re-presentation of newsworthiness. On behalf of a host of leading South African research

institutions, Bird and colleagues (2005) constructed a journalistic resource, which offers guidelines on how to report on children in the context of HIV/AIDS. They argued that since the media have the power to shape public attitude towards children living with HIV/AIDS, journalists and editors ought to be aware of the judgments that are embedded in their reporting (Bird et al., 2005). Some important reference areas included key responses and interventions for children living with HIV/AIDS, misrepresentations that the media perpetuate in their coverage on the subject, resource lists, and key principles for reporting on the issue, including the importance of confidentiality (Bird et al., 2005). The present findings suggest that a similar resource ought to be promoted. This resource might guide journalists and editors on their reporting of violence against women and on how issues of gender, patriarchy, misogyny and power shape the perpetration of violence. This resource may also draw journalists' attention to problems surrounding newsworthiness, and the tendency to prioritise one form of violence against women above the other. It will also have important implications for effective journalistic practice.

This journalistic resource might also draw newsmakers' attention to the way in which 'naming' has the power to anchor objects in a particular light. For example, *Daily Voice* journalists were overwhelmingly found to anchor and name women victims of violence as "pretty" in order to represent them as worthy victims. In reminding the readers of the physical attractiveness of the women victims of men's violence, it may have allowed that the women were seen as more valuable and that the crime was considered more tragic than in the case of a non-"pretty" woman. Moscovici (2001) has however contended that anchoring through naming need not involve harming the original object; rather, naming might enhance the object and allocate new features to it. A prime example of the positive aspects of naming is in describing women as 'survivors' of violence rather than 'victims' to position women as

empowered rather than vulnerable (Harries & Bird, 2005). Therefore, this awareness of language use may indeed serve as a noteworthy guideline for this resource.

7.5 Recommendations for future research

In terms of future research in media and communication studies, an important area for future research might be to explore how tabloid readers make meaning of reports on violence against women, and these findings might also be included as a component of the media resource for journalists and editors. The most prominent counter-ideological representations of the protected ‘perpetrator’ emerged in the *Cape Argus*, and specifically in opinion pieces written by readers, indicating that readers might resist dominant media discourses of IPV. Future research may also examine the images presented in newspapers. Hoijer (2011) argued that scientific concepts might be transformed into pictures through the process of objectification, and may thus furthermore address the process whereby representations of intimate partner violence come to emerge in the media.

In terms of future research on masculinities and violence, Hearn and Kimmel (2007) have similarly suggested that more masculinity research should focus on the individual and interpersonal development of masculinities in the childhood years. I concur with Hearn and Kimmel’s (2007) suggestion and argue that by investigating gendered socialisation at young ages would have important implications for parental interventions and prevention strategies. Morrell and Ouzgane (2005) also argued that a diversity of men ought to be taken into account when attempting to understand masculinities in South Africa. For example, Mathews and colleagues (2011) found that some of the men – specifically those who identified as coloured – in their study presented with childhood adversities marked by violence and crime; however the white men in their study did not report similar experiences. Their findings

suggested a possible difference in experience based upon race, class and social context. This study therefore confirms that an intersectional approach to understanding men's experiences is important, and future research on violence against women might therefore benefit from studying representations of IPV across a variety of institutions and groups.

7.6 Concluding remarks

This study investigated the social representations of intimate partner violence amongst men, their social networks and in the media, and will be a vital contribution to the existing research base on intimate partner violence against women. Despite the magnitude of research that has focused upon intimate partner violence, the national and global prevalence rates of violence against women still remain high. This alarming problem points to the need for more context-specific approaches to explore beliefs concerning violence against women and the kind of functions they serve amongst and within social circles and communities. To my knowledge, this study is the first to have simultaneously sampled men, their networks and printed media reports, through employing an integrated and unique methodology, framed within social representations theory as well as the feminist poststructuralist approach. It is also the first study to have asked questions about what social representations of intimate partner violence emerge in men and their social networks' narratives and in South African media's discourses, and how they emerge.

In asking 'what' and 'how' this study demonstrated its interest in both the content and cognitive process behind the generation and maintenance of social representations, which has been noted to strengthen social representations studies (Moscovici, 1984a, 1984b). The findings that were generated from this research offer a distinctive slant to how intimate partner violence ought to be understood, particularly in its capacity to be a social and

collective act. It also contributes to the ongoing debates around tabloid journalism, by assessing The *Daily Voice*'s value in the context of South African media, and its potential impact upon the growing media attention to violence against women, and more specifically IPV. A limitation of this study is that the results are not generalisable. This study's conclusions are therefore limited to the communities of Strand, Hanover Park, and the two newspapers, *Cape Argus* and the *Daily Voice*, which draw the largest readership across the Western Cape.

This study has significant meaning for how violence against women could be addressed on a larger scale. The findings allow that a) misconceptions and misinformation around strategies for dealing with violence were clarified, b) factors that contribute towards the tolerance and normalisation of violence against women within communities surfaced, and c) strategies for promoting non-violence might be more effectively developed. Finally, this research pioneers the way forward for this new area of work and has the capacity to inform social policy, aid in the development of effective prevention strategies, and assist with the development of theories that examine the causes of intimate partner violence specifically in the South African context. In Gopal and Chetty's (2006, p. 130) words: "The status of women provides fertile ground for discrimination by various institutions in the country"; and consequently the current study argues that it is a pressing matter that the discrimination of women should be addressed in all spheres.

Together with the feminist poststructuralist approach, social representations of IPV amongst violent men, their social networks and in the media were found to provide valuable information about the cultural meanings that frame social thinking and public discourse about violence against women. In particular the feminist poststructuralist approach was found to enhance an understanding of the representations that surfaced. Its application has the

potential to instigate social change if emphasis is placed upon not only overt forms of power, but also those that are hidden and serve to oppress individuals and groups. In particular the connections between language, power, and representations require sustained attention. As argued by Bourdieu (2001), symbolic power and violence between the dominated and dominant are not likely to be overthrown by a “simple effort of will, founded on a liberatory awakening of consciousness” (p. 39). He argued that the effects of symbolic violence are deeply rooted in the body, and therefore it would be “quite illusory to believe that symbolic violence can be overcome with the weapons of consciousness and will alone” (p. 39). Indeed, unravelling notions of power and inequality are integral in acting as a catalyst for social change and to challenge men’s violence toward women partners.

REFERENCES

- Abdul-Quader, A. S., Heckathorn, D. D., Sabin, K., & Saidel, T. (2006). Implementation and analysis of respondent driven sampling: Lessons learned from the field. *Journal of Urban Health*, 83(7), 1-5.
- Abrahams, N., & Jewkes, R. (2005). Effects of South African men's having witnessed abuse of their mothers during childhood on their levels of violence in adulthood. *American Journal of Public Health*, 95, 1811 – 1816.
- Abrahams, N., Jewkes, R., Laubscher, R., & Hoffman, M. (2006). Intimate partner violence: Prevalence and risk factors for men in Cape Town, South Africa. *Violence and Victims*, 21, 247 – 264.
- Abrahams, N., Martin, L., & Vetten, L. (2004). An overview of gender-based violence in South Africa and South African responses. In S. Suffla & A. van Niekerk (Eds.), *Crime, violence and injury prevention in South Africa: developments and challenges*, (pp. 40 – 64). Tygerberg, South Africa: MRC-UNISA Crime, Violence and Injury Lead Programme.
- Abrahams, N., Mathews, S., Martin, L. J., Lombard, C., & Jewkes, R. (2013). Intimate partner femicide in South Africa in 1999 and 2009. *PLOS Medicine*, 10(4), e1001412.
- Abrams, D., Marques, J. M., Bown, N. J., & Henson, M. (2000). Pro-norm and anti-norm deviance within and between groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 906–912.
- Abrams, D., Viki, G. T., Masser, B., & Bohner, G. (2003). Perceptions of stranger and acquaintance rape: the role of benevolent and hostile sexism in victim blame and rape proclivity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84(1), 111.

- Ampofo, A. A., & Boateng, J. (2007). Multiple meanings of manhood among boys in Ghana. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala & R., Buikema (Eds.), *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 50 – 74). Lansdowne, Cape Town: UCT Press
- Ackerson, L. K., Kawachi, I., Barbeau, E. M., & Subramanian, S. V. (2008). Effects of individual and proximate educational context on intimate partner violence: A population-based study of women in India. *American Journal of Public Health*, 98(3), 507–514.
- Adams, P. J., Towns, A., & Gavey, N. (1995). Dominance and entitlement: the rhetoric men use to discuss their violence towards women. *Discourse & Society*, 6(3), 387 – 406.
- Adhikari, M. (2005). *Not white enough, not black enough: racial identity on the South African coloured community*. Cape Town, South Africa: Double Storey Books.
- Ahmed-Ghosh, H. (2004). Chattels of Society: domestic violence in India. *Violence Against Women*, 10, 94 – 118.
- Allen, L. (2003). Girls want sex, boys want love: Resisting dominant discourses of (hetero) sexuality. *Sexualities*, 6(2), 215-236.
- Andersson, K. (2008). Constructing young masculinity: A case study of heroic discourse on violence. *Discourse & Society*, 19(2), 139-161. DOI: 10.1177/0957926507085949
- Anderson, K. L., & Umberson, D. (2001). Gendering violence: Masculinity and power in men's accounts of domestic violence. *Gender & Society*, 15, 358 – 380.

- Andreouli, E., & Howarth, C. (2012). National identity, citizenship and immigration: Putting identity in context. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, 43(3), 361-382. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-5914.2012.00501.x
- Andreouli, E., Howarth, C., & Sonn, C. (2014). The role of schools in promoting inclusive communities in contexts of diversity. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 19(1), 16-21. DOI: 10.1177/1359105313500257
- Armstrong, A. (2000). *Culture and choice: Lessons from survivors of gender violence in Zimbabwe*. Zimbabwe: Legal resources Foundation.
- Arribas-Ayllon, M., & Walkerdine, V. (2008). Foucauldian discourse analysis. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 91-108). London: SAGE Publications.
- Arthi. (2008). "There's a weakness in them": Representations of suicide among Tamil Singaporeans. *Psychology & Society*, 1(1), 29-41.
- Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). Thematic networks: An analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 1(3), 385-405.
- Augoustinos, M. (1998). Social representations and ideology: towards the study of ideological representations. In Flick, U. (Ed.) *The Psychology of the social* (pp. 156-169). Cambridge University Press.
- Augoustinos, M. (2001). Social categorization: towards theoretical integration. In K. Deaux & G. Philogène (Eds.), *Representations of the Social: Bridging Theoretical Traditions* (pp. 201-216). Oxford: Blackwell.

- Augoustinos, M., & Innes, J. M. (1990). Towards an integration of social representations and social schema theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 29(3), 213-231.
- Baadjies, M. (2012a, February 7). Law and out of order: couple is critical after cop 'shoots' wife and himself. *The Daily Voice*. Retrieved from The *Daily Voice* database.
- Baadjies, M. (2012b, July 25). Urine trouble: vrou threatened by drunk cop pissing outside her café. *The Daily Voice*. Retrieved from The *Daily Voice* database.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1986). *Speech genres and other late essays*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas.
- Ball, D. W. (1970). The problematics of respectability. In J. D. Douglas (Ed.), *Deviance and respectability: the social construction of moral meanings* (pp. 326 – 371). New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Bamberg, M. (2006). Stories: Big or small: Why do we care?. *Narrative inquiry*, 16(1), 139-147.
- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social Learning Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Barbarin, O. A., & Richter, L. (2001). Economic status, community danger and psychological problems among South African children. *Childhood*, 8(1), 115-133.
DOI: [10.1177/0907568201008001007](https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568201008001007)
- Barnett, J., & Hammond, S. (1999). Representing disability in charity promotions. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 9(4), 309-314.
- Bar-Tal, D. (2000). *Shared beliefs in a society: Social psychological analysis*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

- Bauer, M. W. (2002). Controversial medical and agri-food biotechnology: A cultivation analysis. *Public Understanding of Science*, 11(2), 93-111.
- Beeton, J. (2012, September 23). Bring back the death penalty for heartless murderers. *Sunday Argus*. Retrieved from Sabinet Reference database.
- Belsey, C. (1980). *Critical practice*. London: Methuen.
- Bendall, C. (2010). The domestic violence epidemic in South Africa: legal and practical remedies. *Women's Studies*, 39, 100 – 118. DOI: 10.1080/00497870903459275
- Benedict, H. (1992). *Virgin or vamp: How the press covers sex crimes*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bell, A. (1991). *The language of news media*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Bell, K. M., & Naugle, A. E. (2008). Intimate partner violence theoretical considerations: Moving towards a contextual framework. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 28, 1096 – 1107.
- Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 42(2), 155-162.
- Bem, S. L. (1975). Sex role adaptability: One consequence of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 31(4), 634-643.
- Bem, S. L., & Lenney, E. (1976). Sex typing and the avoidance of cross-sex behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 33(1), 48-54.
- Berns, N. (1999). "MY PROBLEM AND HOW I SOLVED IT": Domestic violence in women's magazines. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 40(1), 85-108.

- Berns, N. (2001). Degendering the problem and gendering the blame: Political discourse on women and violence. *Gender & Society*, 15(2), 262-281.
- Bhana, D., & Pillay, N. (2011). Beyond passivity: constructions of femininities in a single-sex South African school. *Educational Review*, 63(1), 65-78.
- Bohner, G., & Schwarz, N. (1996). The threat of rape: Its psychological impact on non-victimized women. In D. M. Buss & N. Malamuth (Eds.), *Sex, power, conflict: Evolutionary and feminist perspectives* (pp. 162–175). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bickford-Smith, V. (1995). *Ethnic pride and racial prejudice in Victorian Cape Town*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Biko, S. (2004). *I Write What I Like: a Selection of His Writings*. Johannesburg: Picador Africa.
- Billig, M. (1985). Prejudice, categorization and particularization: From a perceptual to a rhetorical approach. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 15(1), 79-103.
- Billig, M. (1987). *Arguing and thinking: A rhetorical approach to social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Billig, M. (1988). Social representation, anchoring and objectification: A rhetorical analysis. *Social Behaviour*, 3, 1–16.
- Billig, M. (1993). Studying the thinking society: Social representations, rhetoric, and attitudes. In G.M. Breakwell & D.V. Canter (Eds.), *Empirical approaches to social representations* (pp. 39-62). New York: Oxford University Press.

- Billig, M. (1997). The dialogic unconscious: Psychoanalysis, discursive psychology and the nature of repression. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 36(2), 139-159.
- Billig, M. (1998). Studying the thinking society: Social representations, rhetoric and attitudes. In G. Breakwell & D. Canter (Eds.), *Empirical approaches to social representations* (pp. 39–62). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Billig, M. (2005). *Laughter and ridicule: towards a social critique of humour*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Billings, G. L. (2011). Boyz to men? Teaching to restore black boys' childhood. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 14(1), 7-15. DOI: 10.1080/13613324.2011.531977
- Bird, S. E. (1992). *For enquiring minds: a cultural study of supermarket tabloids*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Bird, W., Bray, R., Harries, G., Meintjes, H., Monson, J., & Ridgard, N. (2005). *Reporting on children in the context of HIV/AIDS: A journalist's resource*. Children's Institute and the Centre for Social Science Research, the Media Monitoring Project, and the HIV/AIDS and the Media Project at the University of the Witwatersrand.
- Blackman, L., Cromby, J., Hook, D., Papadopoulos, D., & Walkerdine, V. (2008). Creating subjectivities. *Subjectivity*, 22(1), 1. doi:10.1057/sub.2008.8
- Bograd, M. (1990). Introduction. In K. Yllö and M. Bograd (eds.), *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse* (pp. 11 – 27). Newbury Park, California: SAGE Publications.
- Bohner, G., Reinhard, M., Rutz, S., Sturm, S., Kerschbaum, B., & Effler, D. (1998). Rape myths as neutralizing cognitions: Evidence for a causal impact of anti-victim attitudes

- on men's self-reported likelihood of raping. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 28, 257–268.
- Boonzaier, F. (2005a). Observations & commentaries. Woman abuse in South Africa: A brief contextual analysis. *Feminism & Psychology*, 15 (1), 99-103.
- Boonzaier, F. (2005b). *The relational construction of woman abuse: Narratives of gender, subjectivity and violence in South Africa* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.
- Boonzaier, F. (2006). A gendered analysis of woman abuse. In T. Shefer, F. Boonzaier & P. Kiguwa (Eds.), *The gender of psychology* (pp. 135 - 150). Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Boonzaier, F. (2008). “If the man says you must sit, then you must sit”: the relational construction of woman abuse: gender subjectivity and violence. *Feminism and Psychology*, 18, 183 – 206.
- Boonzaier, F. A. (2014). Methodological disruptions: interviewing domestically violent men across a ‘gender divide’. *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, 9(4), 232–248.
- Boonzaier, F., & de La Rey, C. (2003). “He's a man, and I'm a woman” Cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity in South African women's narratives of violence. *Violence Against Women*, 9(8), 1003-1029.
- Boonzaier, F., & de la Rey, C. (2004). Woman abuse: the construction of gender in women and men's narratives of violence. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 34, 443 – 463.
- Boonzaier, F. A., & van Schalkwyk, S. (2011). Narrative possibilities: poor women of color and the complexities of intimate partner violence. *Violence Against Women*, 17(2), 267 – 286. DOI: 10.1177/1077801210397796

- Bordo, S. (1999). *The male body: a new look at men in public and private*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Bosch, T. (2010). Piracy as counter-hegemony: A Cape Flats case study. *Communicare*, 29(2), 99–116.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Masculine domination*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Bourgois, P. (1996). In search of masculinity—violence, respect and sexuality among Puerto Rican crack dealers. *British Journal of Criminology*, 36, 412–27.
- Bowen, E., Gilchrist, E. A., & Beech, A. (2005). An examination of the impact of community-based rehabilitation on the offending behaviour of male domestic violence offenders and the characteristics associated with recidivism. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 10, 189 – 209.
- Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black+ lesbian+ woman≠ Black lesbian woman: The methodological challenges of qualitative and quantitative intersectionality research. *Sex roles*, 59(5-6), 312-325.
- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Boyle, M. H., Georgiades, K. Cullen, J., & Racine, Y. (2009). Community influences on intimate partner violence in India: women's education, attitudes towards mistreatment and standards of living. *Social Science and Medicine*, 69(5), 691–697.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77 – 101.

- Breakwell, G. M. (1993). Integrating paradigms, methodological implications. In G. Breakwell & D. Canter (Eds.), *Empirical approaches to social representations* (pp. 180-201). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Breakwell, G. M. (2001). Mental models and social representations of hazards: the significance of identity processes. *Journal of Risk Research*, 4(4), 341-351.
- Breakwell, G. M. (2007). *The psychology of risk*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, M. P., & Hendricks, J. E. (1998). Wife abuse. In N. A. Jackson & G. C. Oates (Eds.), *Violence in intimate relationships: Examining sociological and psychological issues* (pp. 119 – 136). Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Bruner, J. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical inquiry*, 1-21.
- Buchbinder, E., & Eisikovits, Z. (2004). Between normality and deviance: The breakdown of batterers' identity following police intervention. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19(4), 443–467
- Buiten, D., & Salo, E. (2007). Silences stifling transformation: Misogyny and gender-based violence in the media. *Agenda*, 21(71), 115-121.
- Bullock, C. F. (2007). Framing domestic violence fatalities: Coverage by Utah newspapers. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 30(1), 34-63.
- Burman, E. (1994). Interviewing. In P. Banister, E. Burman, I. Parker, M. Taylor & C. Tindall (Eds.), *Qualitative methods on psychology: A research guide* (pp. 49 – 71). Buckingham: Open University Press.

- Burman, E. E., & Parker, I. E. (Eds.) (1993). *Discourse analytic research: Repertoires and readings of texts in action*. London: Routledge.
- Burrill, E. S., Roberts, R. L., & Thornberry, E. (2010). Introduction: domestic violence and the law in Africa. In E. S. Burrill, R. L. Roberts & E. Thornberry, *Domestic violence and the law in colonial and post-colonial Africa* (pp. 1 – 29). Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and support for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38, 217-230.
- Butchart, A., Garcia-Moreno, C., & Mikton, C. (2010). Preventing intimate partner and sexual violence against women: taking action and generating evidence. Geneva, World health Organisation report.
- Buthelezi, T. (2007). The intersection of gender and class in Ilanga and Isolezwe news coverage of rape. *Agenda*, 21(74), 125-132.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1992). Contingent foundations. In J. Butler & J. W. Scott (Eds.), *Feminists Theorize the Political*, pp. 3–21. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: on the discursive limits of “sex”*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1997). *The psychic life of power: Theories in subjection*. Stanford University Press.
- Buur, L., & Jensen, S. (2004). Introduction: vigilantism and the policing of everyday life in South Africa. *African Studies*, 63(2), 139-152. DOI: 10.1080/00020180412331318724

- Cain, C. (1991). Personal Stories: Identity acquisition and self-understanding in Alcoholics Anonymous. *Ethos*, 19(2), 210-253.
- Campbell, J. C. (1992). Cultural contexts versus social sciences. In D. A. Counts, J. K. Brown & J. C. Campbell (Eds.), *Sanctions & Sanctuary: Cultural perspectives on the beating of wives* (pp. 229 – 250). United States of America: Westview Press.
- Campbell, C. (1994). Intergenerational conflict in township families: Transforming notions of “respect” and changing power relations. *South African Journal of Gerontology*, 3(2), 37 – 42.
- Campbell, C. (1998). Representations of gender, respectability and commercial sex in the shadow of AIDS: A South African case study. *Social Science Information*, 37(4), 687-707
- Campbell, J. C. (2002). Health consequences of intimate partner violence. *The Lancet*, 359(9314), 1331-1336.
- Campbell, C., & Jovchelovitch, S. (2000). Health, community and development: Towards a social psychology of participation. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 10(4), 255-270.
- Campbell, C., & McLean, C. (2002). Representations of ethnicity in people's accounts of local community participation in a multi-ethnic community in England. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 12, 13-29. DOI: 10.1002/casp.650
- Carlson, K., & Randell, S. (2013). Gender and development: Working with men for gender equality in Rwanda. *Agenda*, 27(1), 114-125. DOI: 10.1080/10130950.2013.796075

- Castro, P., & Batel, S. (2008). Social representation, change and resistance: On the difficulties of generalizing new norms. *Culture & Psychology*, 14(4), 475-497.
- Community Action towards a Safer Environment (CASE) (2014). *Home*. Retrieved from <http://www.case.za.org/>
- Cavanagh, K., Dobash, R. E., Dobash, R. P., & Lewis, R. (2001). 'Remedial work': Men's strategic responses to their violence against intimate female partners. *Sociology*, 35, 695 – 714.
- Carrigan, T., Connell, B., & Lee, J. (1985). Toward a new sociology of masculinity. *Theory and society*, 14(5), 551-604.
- Chronister, K. M., Wettersten, K. B., & Brown, C. (2004). Vocational research for the liberation of battered women. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 32(6), 900-922.
- Clissett, P. (2008). Evaluating qualitative research. *Journal of Orthopaedic nursing*, 12(2), 99-105. DOI: 10.1016/j.joon.2008.07.009
- Clowes, L. (2013). The limits of discourse: Masculinity as vulnerability. *Agenda*, 27(1), 12-19.
- Cock, J. (1994). Women and the military: Implications for demilitarization in the 1990s in South Africa. *Gender & Society*, 8(2), 152-169.
- Cock, J. (2001). Gun violence and masculinity in contemporary South Africa. In R. Morrell (Ed.), *Changing men in Southern Africa* (pp. 43 – 55). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

- Cohen, D. J., & Crabtree, B. F. (2008). Evaluative criteria for qualitative research in health care: Controversies and recommendations. *The Annals of Family Medicine*, 6(4), 331-339.
- Collins, P. H. (2010). *Black feminist thought: knowledge, consciousness and the politics of empowerment* (2nd Ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Collins, A. (2013). Bullies, sissies and cry babies: Dangerous common sense in educating boys for violence. *Agenda*, 27(1), 71-83.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power: society, the person, and sexual politics*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Connell, R. W. (2000). *The men and the boys*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Connell, R. (2008). A thousand miles from kind: men, masculinities and modern institutions. *The journal of men's studies*, 16(3), 237-252. DOI: 10.3149/jms.1603.237
- Connell, R. W., Hearn, J., & Kimmel, M. S. (2005). Introduction. In M. S. Kimmel, J. Hearn & R. W. Connell, *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities* (pp. 1 – 12). Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publication.
- Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society*, 19, 829-859.
- Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2010). Feminist studies of men: Hegemonic masculinity. In J. Lorber (Ed.), *Gender Inequality: feminist theories and politics* (pp. 215 – 229). New York: Oxford University Press.

- Coovadia, H., Jewkes, R., Barron, P., Sanders, D., & McIntyre, D. (2009). The health and health system of South Africa: historical roots of current public health challenges. *The Lancet*, 374(9692), 817-834. DOI: 10.1016/S0140-6736(09)60951-X
- Corvo, K. (2006). Violence, separation, and loss in the families of origin of domestically violent men. *Journal of family violence*, 21(2), 117 - 124.
- Crenshaw, K. (1994). Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. In M. A. Fineman & R. Mykitiuk (Eds.), *The public nature of private violence* (pp. 93 – 118). New York: Routledge.
- Cronje, J. (2013, February 27). MPs slam ‘barbarian’ violence. *Cape Argus*. Retrieved from Sabinet Reference database.
- Culler, J. (1982). *On deconstruction: theory and criticism after structuralism*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Curran, J., & Seaton, J. (2003). *Power without responsibility: the press, broadcasting, and the news media in Britain* (6th Ed.). London: Routledge.
- Dalton, K. (1986). Premenstrual syndrome. *Hamline L. Rev.*, 9, 143.
- Danziger, K. (1990). *Constructing the subject: Historical origins of psychological research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dasgupta, S. D. (2002). A framework for understanding women's use of nonlethal violence in intimate heterosexual relationships. *Violence Against Women*, 8(11), 1364-1389. DOI: 10.1177/107780102237408
- Davies, D., & Dodd, J. (2002). Qualitative research and the question of rigor. *Qualitative Health Research*, 12(2), 279-289. DOI: 10.1177/104973230201200211

- Davies, B., & Gannon, S. (2005). Feminism/poststructuralism. In B. Somekh & C. Lewin (Eds.). *Research methods in the social sciences*, pp. 318-325. London: SAGE Publications.
- de-Graft Aikins, A. D. G. (2002). Exploring biomedical and ethnomedical representations of diabetes in Ghana and the scope for cross-professional collaboration: a social psychological approach to health policy. *Social Science Information*, 41(4), 625-652.
- De la Rey, C. (1997). Introduction: South African feminism, race and racism. *Agenda*, 13(32), 6 – 10.
- Department of Social Development, Republic of South Africa (2009). *National Policy Guidelines for Victim Empowerment*, Pretoria.
- Dixon, T. L., & Linz, D. (2000). Overrepresentation and underrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as lawbreakers on television news. *Journal of Communication*, 50(2), 131-154.
- Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. (1979). *Violence against wives: A case against the patriarchy*. London: Open Books.
- Dobash, R., Dobash, R. E., Cavanagh, K., & Lewis, R. (2000). *Changing violent men*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Doise, W. (1986). *Levels of explanation in social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Doise, W., Clémence, A., & Lorenzi-Cioldi, F. (1993). *The quantitative analysis of social representations*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998. (1998). Retrieved July 17, 2013 from

<http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/regulations/r2006/DOMESTIC%20VIOLENCE%20ACTfin.pdf>

Douglas, J. D. (1970). Deviance and respectability: the social construction of moral meanings. In J. D. Douglas (Ed.), *Deviance and respectability: the social construction of moral meanings* (pp. 3 – 30). New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.

Dowler, K. (2004). Comparing American and Canadian local television crime stories: a content analysis. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 46(5), pp. 573–597.

Duneier, M. (1992). *Slim's table: race, respectability, and masculinity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dunkle, K. L., Jewkes, R. K., Brown, H. C., Yoshihama, M., Gray, G. E., McIntyre, J. A., & Harlow, S. D. (2004). Prevalence and patterns of gender-based violence and revictimization among women attending antenatal clinics in Soweto, South Africa. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 160(3), 230 – 239.

Durkheim, E. (1898). Representations individuelles et representations collectives. *Revue de Metaphysique et de Morale*, 6, 273–302.

Dutton, D. G. (1995). Male abusiveness in intimate relationships. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 15(6), 567 – 581.

Dutton, D. G., Starzomski, A., & Ryan, L. (1996). Antecedents of abusive personality and abusive behavior in wife assaulters. *Journal of Family Violence*, 11(2), 113-132.

- Duveen, G. M. (2001). Representations, identities, resistance. In K. Deaux & G. Philogene (Eds.), *Representations of the social: Bridging theoretical traditions* (pp. 257–270). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Duveen, G., & Lloyd, B. (1990). Introduction. In G. Duveen & B. Lloyd (Eds.), *Social representations and the development of knowledge* (pp. 1–10). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duveen, G. M., & Lloyd, B. (1993). An ethnographic approach to social representations. In G. Breakwell & D. Canter (Eds.), *Empirical approaches to social representations* (pp. 90–109). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (1992). *Discursive psychology*. London: Sage Publications.
- Elliott, W. (2003). *Masculinity: key South African issues and debates*. Soul City Review.
- Ellsberg, M. C., Pena, R., Herrera, A., Liljestrand, J., & Winkvist, A. (1999). Wife abuse among women of childbearing age in Nicaragua. *American Journal of Public Health*, 89, 241–44.
- Enefalk, H. (2013). Alcohol and respectability: A case study of central Sweden circa 1800–1850. *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 38(3), 296–317. DOI: 10.1080/03468755.2013.806272
- Erasmus, Z. (2000). Recognition through pleasure, recognition through violence: Gendered coloured subjectivities in South Africa. *Current Sociology*, 48(3), 71–85. DOI: 10.1177/0011392100048003006
- Erasmus, Z. (2001). Introduction: Re-imagining coloured identities in post-apartheid South Africa. In Z. Erasmus (Ed.), *Coloured by history, shaped by place: New perspective*

- on coloured identities in Cape Town* (pp. 13 – 28). Cape Town: Kwela Books and South African History Online.
- Erasmus, Z., & Pieterse, E. (1999). Conceptualising coloured identities in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. In M. Palmberg (Ed), *National identity and democracy in Africa* (pp. 167 – 187). South Africa: Human Sciences Research Council and Mayibuye Centre of the University of the Western Cape.
- Farr, R. M. (1993). Theory and method in the study of social representations. In D. Canter & G. Breakwell (Eds.), *Empirical approaches to social representations* (pp. 15–88). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Farr, R. M. (1996). *The roots of modern social psychology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Farr, R. M. (1998). From collective to social representations: Aller et retour. *Culture & Psychology*, 4(3), 275-296.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (1992). *Myths of gender: Biological theories about women and men* (2nd Ed.). New York: Basic Books.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (2000). *Sexing the body: gender politics and the construction of sexuality*. New York: Basic Books.
- Felson, R. B. (2002). *Violence and gender re-examined*. Washington, D. C.: American Psychological Association.
- Field, C. A., Caetano, R., & Nelson, S. (2004). Alcohol and violence related cognitive risk factors associated with the perpetration of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Family Violence*, 19, 249 – 253.

- Fife-Schaw, C. (1993). Finding social representations in attribute checklists: How will we know when we have found one? In G. M. Breakwell & D. V. Canter (Eds.), *Empirical approaches to social representations* (pp. 248 – 271). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fine, M. (1988). Sexuality, schooling, and adolescent females: The missing discourse of desire. *Harvard educational review*, 58(1), 29-54.
- Fiske, J. (1989). Understanding popular culture. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Fiske, J. (1996). Opening the hallway: Some remarks on the fertility of Stuart Hall's contribution to critical theory. In D. Morley & K. H. Chen (Eds.), *Stuart Hall: Critical dialogues in cultural studies* (pp. 212-221). London: Routledge.
- Flick, U. (1995). Social representations. In J. A. Smith, R. Harré & L. Van Langenhove (Eds.), *Rethinking psychology* (pp. 70 – 96). London: SAGE Publications.
- Flick, U. (2000). Episodic interviewing. In M. W. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Qualitative researching with text, image and sound: A practical handbook* (pp. 75 – 92). London: SAGE Publications.
- Flick, U. (2004). Triangulation in qualitative research. In U. Flick, E. von Kardorff & I. Steinke (Eds.), *A companion to qualitative research* (pp. 178 – 183). London: SAGE Publications.
- Flick, U. (2009). *An introduction to qualitative research* (4th Ed.). London: SAGE Publications.

- Flick, U., Fischer, C., Neuber, A., Schwartz, F. W., & Walter, U. (2003). Health in the context of growing old: social representations of health. *Journal of Health Psychology, 8*(5), 539 – 556.
- Flick, U., & Foster, J. (2008). Social representations. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 195-214). London: SAGE Publications.
- Fontes, L. A. (2004). Ethics in violence against women research: The sensitive, the dangerous, and the overlooked. *Ethics and Behavior, 14*(2), 141-174.
- Foster, D. (2004). Liberation psychology. In D. Hook (Ed.), *Critical psychology* (pp. 559 - 602). Lansdowne: UCT press.
- Foster, D., Haupt, P., & De Beer, M. (2005). *The theatre of violence: Narratives of protagonists in the South African conflict*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Foster, J. L. (2003). Beyond otherness: Controllability and location in mental health service clients' representations of mental health problems. *Journal of Health Psychology, 8*(5), 632-644.
- Foster, J. L. (2006). Media presentation of the mental health bill and representations of mental health problems. *Journal of community & applied social psychology, 16*(4), 285-300.
- Foucault, M. (1972). The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse of language. (A. M. Sheridan Smith, Trans.). New York: Harper & Row.
- Foucault, M. (1977). Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison. (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York: Vintage Books.

- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press.
- Foucault, M. (1982). Afterword: The subject and power. In H. L. Dreyfus & P. Rabinow (Eds.), *M. Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*. Brighton: Harvester.
- Foucault, M. (1988). Technologies of the self: a seminar with Michel Foucault. In L. H. Martin, H. Gutman, & P. H. Hutton (Eds.), *Technologies of the self*, pp. 16 - 49. London: Tavistock.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the news: Discourse and ideology in the press*. London: Routledge.
- Frosh, S. (1989). *Psychoanalysis and psychology: Minding the gap*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education.
- Frosh, S. (1994). *Sexual difference: masculinity and psychoanalysis*. London: Routledge.
- Frosh, S. (1999). *The politics of psychoanalysis: an introduction to Freudian and post-Freudian theory* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan.
- Frosh, S. (2010). *Psychoanalysis outside the clinic: Interventions in psychosocial studies*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Frosh, S., Phoenix, A., & Pattman, R. (2003). Taking a stand: Using psychoanalysis to explore the positioning of subjects in discourse. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 42(1), 39-53.
- Gadd, D. (2002). Masculinities and violence against female partners. *Social & Legal Studies*, 11(1), 61-80.

- Gadd, D. (2003). Reading between the lines: Subjectivity and men's violence. *Men and Masculinities*, 5(4), 333-354. DOI: 10.1177/1097184X02250838
- Gadd, D., & Farrall, S. (2004). Criminal careers, desistance and subjectivity: Interpreting men's narratives of change. *Theoretical Criminology*, 8(2), 123-156. DOI: 10.1177/1362480604042241
- Gadd, D., & Jefferson, T. (2007). *Psychosocial criminology*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publication.
- García-Moreno, C., Jansen, H. A., Ellsberg, M., Heise, L., & Watts, C. (2005). *WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence against women: initial results on prevalence, health outcomes and women's responses*. World Health Organization.
- Gaskell, G., Allum, N., Wagner, W., Kronberger, N., Torgersen, H., Hampel, J., & Bardes, J. (2004). GM foods and the misperception of risk perception. *Risk Analysis*, 24(1), 185-194.
- Gavey, N. (1989). Feminist poststructuralism and discourse analysis: contributions to feminist psychology. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 13, 459 – 475.
- Gavey, N. (1996). Women's desire and sexual violence discourse. In S. Wilkinson (ed.), *Feminist social psychologies: international perspectives* (pp. 51 – 65). Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Geduld, S. (2011, October 18). Long Lippe of the Law. *The Daily Voice*. Retrieved on July 28, 2013 from The *Daily Voice* database.
- Gergen, K. J. (1985). The social constructionist movement in modern psychology. *American Psychologist*, 40(3), 266-275.

- Gergen, M. (2001). *Feminist reconstructions in psychology: Narrative, gender and performance*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Gergen, K. J. (2009). *Relational being: Beyond self and community*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gergen, M. M., & Gergen, K. J. (2006). Narratives in action. *Narrative Inquiry*, 16(1), 112-121.
- Gervais, M. C., & Jovchelovitch, S. (1998). Health and identity: the case of the Chinese community in England. *Social Science Information*, 37(4), 709-729.
- Giami, A., & Schiltz, M. A. (1996). Representations of sexuality and relations between partners: Sex research in France in the era of AIDS. *Annual Review of Sex Research*, 7(1), 125-157.
- Gibbs, A., & Jobson, G. (2011). Narratives of masculinity in the *Daily Sun*: implications of HIV risk and prevention. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 41(2), 173 – 186.
- Gibson, D. R., Leamon, M. H., & Flynn, N. (2002). Epidemiology and public health consequences of methamphetamine use in California's Central Valley. *Journal of psychoactive drugs*, 34(3), 313-319. DOI:10.1080/02791072.2002.10399969
- Gibson, D., & Lindegaard, M. R. (2007). South African boys with plans for the future: Why a focus on dominant discourses tells us only part of the story. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala and R., Buikema, eds., *From boys to men: social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 128-144). Lansdowne, Cape Town: UCT Press.

- Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory: action, structure and contradiction in social analysis*. London: The Macmillan Press.
- Gilchrist, K. (2010). “Newsworthy” Victims? Exploring differences in Canadian local press coverage of missing/murdered Aboriginal and White women. *Feminist media studies*, 10(4), 373-390. DOI: 10.1080/14680777.2010.514110
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Glaser, C. (2000). *Bo-Tsotsi: the youth gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Glaser, C. (2005). Whistles and sjamboks: crime and policing in Soweto, 1960–1976. *South African Historical Journal*, 52(1), 119-139. DOI: 10.1080/02582470509464867
- Glick, P., Diebold, J., Bailey-Werner, B., & Zhu, L. (1997). The two faces of Adam: Ambivalent sexism and polarized attitudes toward women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 1323–1334.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70(3), 491.
- Glick, P., Fiske, S. T., Mlandinic, A., Saiz, J. L., Abrams, D., Masser, B.,...López, W. L. (2000). Beyond prejudice as a simple antipathy: Hostile and benevolent sexism across cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79, 763–775.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Gopal, N. and Chetty, V., 2006. No women left behind: examining public perspectives on South African Police Services’ handling of violence against South African women. *Alternation*, 13(2), 117 – 133.

Gouws, A. (2013, February 25). Anene, Reeve media frenzy reveals a nation's shallowness.

Mail & Guardian Online. Retrieved from

<http://www.thoughtleader.co.za/amandagouws/2013/02/25/anenereeva-frenzy-reveals-a-nations-shallowness/>

Gqola, P. (2004). Where have all the rainbows gone?: memory. *Rhodes Journalism Review*, (24), 6-7.

Gqola, P. D. (2007). How the 'cult of femininity' and violent masculinities support endemic gender based violence in contemporary South Africa. *African Identities*, 5(1), 111-124.

Goodhew, D. (2000). Working-class respectability: the example of the western areas of Johannesburg, 1930–55. *The Journal of African History*, 41(02), 241-266.

Goodrum, S., Umberson, D., & Anderson, K. L. (2001). The batterer's view of the self and others in domestic violence. *Sociological Inquiry*, 71(2), 221-240.

Grabe, M. E., Trager, K. D., Lear, M., & Rauch, J. (2006). Gender in crime news: A case study test of the chivalry hypothesis. *Mass Communication & Society*, 9(2), 137-163.

Graham-Kevan, N., & Archer, J. (2005). Investigating three explanations of women's relationship aggression. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 29, 270-277.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (Q. Hoare & GN Smith, Eds. & Trans.). London: Lawrence & Wishart

Graves, K. N., Sechrist, S. M., White, J. W., & Paradise, M. J. (2005). Intimate partner violence perpetrated by college women within the context of a history of victimization. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 29, 278-289.

- Gray, P. S., Williamson, J. B., Karp, D. A., & Dalphin, J. R. (2007). *The research imagination: An introduction to qualitative and quantitative methods*. Cape Town: Cambridge University Press.
- Greene, A. F. (1999). Biological perspectives on violence against women. In M. Harway & J. M. O'Neil (Eds.), *What causes men's violence against women?* (pp. 51 – 60). California, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Greene, R., & Dalton, K. (1953). The premenstrual syndrome. *The British Medical Journal*, *1*(4818), 1007-1014.
- Greer, C. R. (2003). *Sex crime and the media: Sex offending and the press in a divided society*. Portland: Willan Publishing.
- Griffin, P. (2013). Gendering global finance: Crisis, masculinity, and responsibility. *Men and Masculinities*, *16*(1), 9-34. DOI: 10.1177/1097184X12468097
- Grim, P. (1996). Sex and social roles: how to deal with the data. In L. May, R. Strikwerda & P. D. Hopkins (Eds.), *Rethinking masculinity: philosophical explorations in light of feminism* (pp. 3 – 20). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Grisprud, J. (1992). The aesthetics and politics of melodrama. In P. Dahlgren & C. Sparks (Eds.), *Journalism and Popular Culture* (pp. 84-95). London: SAGE Publications.
- Groenewald, P., Bradshaw, D., Daniels, J., Matzopoulos, R., Bourne, D., Blease, D.,... Naledi, N.T. (2008). Cause of death and premature mortality in Cape Town, 2001-2006. Cape Town: South African Medical Research Council.
- Grunebaum, H., & Robins, S. (2001). Crossing the colour(ed) line: Mediating the ambiguities of belonging and identity. In Z. Erasmus (Ed.), *Coloured by history, shaped by place:*

- New perspective on coloured identities in Cape Town* (pp. 159 – 172). Cape Town: Kwela Books and South African History Online.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989). *Fourth-generation evaluation*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Guma, M., & Henda, N. (2004). The socio-cultural context of child abuse: A betrayal of trust. In L. Richter, A. Dawes & C. Higson-Smith (Eds.), *Sexual abuse of young children in southern Africa* (95-109). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Gutmann, M. C. (1996). *The meanings of being macho: being a man in Mexico City*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gutmann, M. C. (1997). The ethnographic (g)ambit: Women and the negotiation of masculinity in Mexico City. *American Ethnologist*, 24(4), 833-855.
- Hall, S. (1997) The Spectacle of the other. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 225-279). London: SAGE and The Open University.
- Hamby, S. L. (2005). Measuring gender differences in partner violence: Implications from research on other forms of violent and socially undesirable behavior. *Sex Roles*, 52, 725–742.
- Harré, R. (1984). Some reflections on the concept of "social representation". *Social Research*, 51(4), 927-938.
- Harries, G., & Bird, W. (2005). Keeping an eye on the campaign: monitoring media coverage of the 16 Days of Activism: No Violence Against Women and Children Campaign. *Agenda*, 66, 90 – 96.

- Harvey, A., Garcia-Moreno, C., & Butchart, A. (2007). *Primary prevention of intimate-partner violence and sexual violence: Background paper for WHO expert meeting May 2–3, 2007*. World Health Organization
- Haupt, A. (2001). Black thing: hip-hop nationalism, ‘race’ and gender in *Prophets of da City* and *Brasse vannie Kaap*. In Z. Erasmus (Ed.), *Coloured by history, shaped by place: New perspective on coloured identities in Cape Town* (pp. 173 – 191). Cape Town: Kwela Books and South African History Online.
- Head, E. (2009). The ethics and implications of paying participants in qualitative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 12(4), 335-344.
DOI: 10.1080/13645570802246724
- Heap, P. (1977). *The story of Hottentots Holland: Social history of Somerset West, The Strand, Gordon’s Bay and Sir Lowry’s Pass over three centuries*. Sir Lowry's Pass: Peggy Heap, Elandskloof.
- Hearn, J. (1987). *The gender of oppression: Men, masculinity, and the critique of Marxism*. Brighton, Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books.
- Hearn, J. (1998a). *The violences of men*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Hearn, J. (1998b). Men will be men: the ambiguity of men’s support for men who have been violent to known women. In J. Popay, J. Hearn & J. Edwards (Eds.), *Men, gender divisions and welfare* (pp. 147 – 180). London: Routledge.
- Hearn, J. (2007). The problems boys and men create, the problems boys and men experience. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala & R., Buikema (Eds.), *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 13 – 32). Lansdowne, Cape Town: UCT Press.

- Hearn, J. (2012). A multi-faceted power analysis of men's violence to known women: from hegemonic masculinity to the hegemony of men. *The Sociological Review*, 60(4), 589-610. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-954X.2012.02125.x
- Hearn, J., Blagojević, M., & Harrison, K. (Eds.). (2013). *Rethinking transnational men: Beyond, between and within nations*. New York: Routledge.
- Hearn, J., & Kimmel, M. S. (2007). The sociology of men and masculinity. In C. D. Bryant & D. L. Peck (Eds.), *21st Century sociology: a reference handbook* (vol. 2) (pp. 132-138). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Hearn, J., & Whitehead, A. (2006). Collateral damage: Men's 'domestic' violence to women seen through men's relations with men. *Probation journal*, 53(1), 38-56. DOI: 10.1177/0264550506060864
- Hearts of Men (HOM) (2014). *Home*. Retrieved from <http://heartsofmen.co.za/>
- Heckathorn, D. D. (1997). Respondent driven sampling: A new approach to the study of hidden populations. *Social Problems* 44(2), 174–199.
- Heise, L., & Garcia-Moreno, C. (2002). Violence by intimate partners. In E. G. Krug, L. L. Dahlberg, J. A. Mercy, A. B. Zwi & R. Lozano, *World report on violence and health*, (pp. 87 – 122). Geneva: World Health Organization.
- Hendricks, C. (2001). 'Omnious liaisons: Tracing the interface between 'race' and sex at the Cape. In Z. Erasmus (Ed.), *Coloured by history, shaped by place: New perspective on coloured identities in Cape Town* (pp. 29 – 44). Cape Town: Kwela Books and South African History Online.

- Henriques, J., Hollway, W., Urwin, C., Venn, C., & Walkerdine, V. (1984). *Changing the subject: psychology, social regulation and subjectivity*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.
- Herzlich, C. (1973). *Health and illness: A social psychological analysis*. London: Academic Press.
- Herzlich, C., & Pierret, J. (1987). *Illness and self in society*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Hester, M., Kelly, L., & Radford, J. (1996). *Women, violence and male power: Feminist activism, research and practice*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Hiles, D., & Čermák, I. (2008). Narrative psychology. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 147 - 164). London: SAGE Publications.
- Hirsch, S. F. (1994). Section 1/Images of violence: introduction. In M. A. Fineman & R. Mykitiuk (Eds.), *The public nature of private violence* (pp. 3 – 10). New York: Routledge.
- Hoffman, K. L., Demo, D. H., & Edwards, J. N. (1994). Physical wife abuse in a non-Western society: an integrated theoretical approach. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 56, 131–46
- Hogg, M. A., & Vaughan, G. M. (2011). *Social psychology* (6th Ed.). Essex, England: Pearson Education Limited.
- Höijer, B. (2010). Emotional anchoring and objectification in the media reporting on climate change. *Public Understanding of Science*, 19(6), 717 – 731. DOI: 10.1177/0963662509348863

- Höijer, B. (2011). Social representations theory: A new theory for media research. *Nordicom Review*, 32(2), 3-16.
- Hollway, W. (1989). *Subjectivity and method in psychology: Gender, meaning and science*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Hollway, W. (2004). *Psycho-social research*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (1997). *The active interview*. SAGE Publications.
- Holt, C. L., & Ellis, J. B. (1998). Assessing the current validity of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. *Sex Roles*, 39(11-12), 929-941.
- Holter, O. G. (2005). Social theories for researching men and masculinities: direct gender hierarchy and structural inequality. In M. S. Kimmel, J. Hearn & R. W. Connell (Eds.), *Handbook of studies on men & masculinities* (pp. 15 – 34). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- hooks, b. (1981). *Ain't I a woman: black women and feminism*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- hooks, b. (1992). *Black looks: Race and representation*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- hooks, b. (2004). *The will to change: Men, masculinity, and love*. New York: Washington Square Press.
- Hoosen, S., & Collins, A. (2004). Sex, sexuality and sickness: discourses of gender and HIV/AIDS among KwaZulu-Natal women. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 34, 487-505.
- Howarth, C. (2002a). Identity in whose eyes? The role of representations in identity construction. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 32(2), 145-162.

- Howarth, C. (2002b). 'So, you're from Brixton?' The struggle for recognition and esteem in a stigmatized community. *Ethnicities*, 2(2), 237-260.
- Howarth, C. (2002c). Using the theory of social representations to explore difference in the research relationship. *Qualitative Research*, 2(1), 21-34.
- Howarth, C. (2004). Re-presentation and resistance in the context of school exclusion: Reasons to be critical. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 14(5), 356-377.
- Howarth, C. (2006). A social representation is not a quiet thing: Exploring the critical potential of social representations theory. *British journal of social psychology*, 45(1), 65-86. DOI: 10.1348/014466605X43777
- Howarth, C. (2009). 'I hope we won't have to understand racism one day': Researching or reproducing 'race' in social psychological research?. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 48(3), 407-426.
- Howarth, C. (2010). Revisiting gender identities and education: Notes for a social psychology of resistant identities in modern culture. *Papers on Social Representations*, 19(1), 8.1-8.17.
- Howarth, C. (2011). Representations, identity and resistance in communication. In D. Hook, B. Franks & M. W. Bauer (Eds.), *The social psychology of communication* (pp. 153-168). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Howarth, C., Foster, J., & Dorrer, N. (2004). Exploring the potential of the theory of social representations in community-based health research—and vice versa?. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 9(2), 229-243.

- Howe, D. (2005). *Child abuse and neglect: Attachment, development and intervention*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Humphreys, K. (2000). Community narratives and personal stories in alcoholics anonymous. *Journal of Community of Psychology*, 28(5), 495-506.
- Hunter, M. (2010). *Love in the time of AIDS: Inequality, gender, and rights in South Africa*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Huppatz, K. (2010). Respectability and the paid caring occupations: An empirical investigation of normality, morality, impression management, esteem in nursing and social work. *Health Sociology Review*, 19(1), 73-85.
- Huysamen, M. (2013). “*For that hour he is Mr. Hunk himself*”: Men’s narratives of buying sex (Unpublished Masters dissertation). University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.
- Hydén, M. (1994). *Women battering as a marital act: the construction of a violent marriage*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.
- Hydén, M. (1999). The world of the fearful: battered women’s narratives of leaving abusive husbands. *Feminism & Psychology*, 9(4), 449 – 469. DOI: 10.1177/0959353599009004012
- Hydén, M. (2014). The teller-focused interview: Interviewing as relational practice. *Qualitative Social Work*, 1 – 18. DOI: 10.1177/1473325013506247
- IOM & Sonke Training Manual (2009). *An action oriented training manual on gender, migration and HIV*. International Organization for Migration, Sida, Sonke Gender Justice Network and USAID.

- Jahoda, G. (1988). Critical notes and reflections on ‘social representations’. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 18, 195–209.
- Jefferson, T. (1996a). Introduction. *British Journal Criminology*, 36(3), 337-347.
- Jefferson, T. (1996b). From “little fairy boy” to “the complete destroyer”: subjectivity and transformation in the biography of Mike Tyson. In M. Mac an Ghail (Ed.), *Understanding Masculinities*, (pp. 153 – 167). Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.
- Jefferson, T. (2002). Subordinating hegemonic masculinity. *Theoretical Criminology*, 6(1), 63-88. DOI: 10.1177/136248060200600103
- Jensen, S. (1999). Discourses of violence: coping with violence on the Cape Flats. *Social Dynamics*, 25(2), 75-97. DOI: 10.1080/02533959908458676
- Jensen, S. (2009). Gendered connections politics, brokers and urban transformation in Cape Town. *Critique of Anthropology*, 29(1), 47-64. DOI:10.1177/0308275X08101026
- Jewkes, R. (2002). Intimate partner violence. Causes and prevention. *The Lancet*, 359, 1423 – 1429.
- Jewkes, R., Dunkle, K., Koss, M. P., Levin, J. B., Nduna, M., Jama, N., & Sikweyiya, Y. (2006). Rape perpetration by young, rural South African men: prevalence, patterns and risk factors. *Social Science and Medicine*, 63(11), 2949–2961.
- Jewkes, R., Levin, J., & Penn-Kekana, L. (2002). Risk factors for domestic violence: Findings from a South African cross-sectional study. *Social Science & Medicine*, 55, 1603 – 1617.

- Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2009). *Understanding men's health and use of violence: interface of rape and HIV in South Africa*. MRC Policy Brief.
- Jewkes, R., & Morrell, R. (2010). Gender and sexuality: emerging perspectives from the heterosexual epidemic in South Africa and implications for HIV risk and prevention. *Journal of International AIDS Society*, 13(6), 1 – 11.
- Jewkes, R., & Morrell, R. (2012). Sexuality and the limits of agency among South African teenage women: Theorising femininities and their connections to HIV risk practices. *Social Science & Medicine*, 74, 1729–37.
- Jewkes, R., Morrell, R., & Christofides, N. (2009). Empowering teenagers to prevent pregnancy: lessons from South Africa. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 11(7), 675-688.
DOI: 10.1080/13691050902846452
- Jewkes, R., Morrell, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Dunkle, K., & Penn-Kekana, L. (2012). Men, sex and the provider role: Crime, violence, correlated psychological attributes associated with South African men's engagement in prostitution and transactional sex in South Africa. *Plos One*, 7(7), 1-10.
- Jewkes, R., Penn-Kekana, L., Levin, J., Ratsaka, M., & Schrieber, M. (2001). Prevalence of emotional, physical and sexual abuse of women in three South African provinces. *South African Medical Journal*, 91(5), 421-428.
- Jewkes, Y. (2004). *Media & crime*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Jiwani, Y., & Young, M. L. (2006). Missing and murdered women: Reproducing marginality in news discourse. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 31(4). 895-917.

- Jodelet, D. (1989/1991). *Madness and social representations* (T. Pownall & G. Duveen, Trans.). Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Joffe, H. (1995). Social representations of AIDS: towards encompassing issues of power. *Papers on Social representations*, 4(1), 29-40
- Joffe, H. (1998). Social representations and the AIDS field. *Psychology and society*, 24, 21-39.
- Joffe, H. (1999). *Risk and 'the other'*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Joffe, H. (2002). Social representations and health psychology. *Social Science Information*, 41(4), 559-580.
- Joffe, H. (2011). Thematic analysis. In D. Harper & A. R. Thompson (Eds.), *Qualitative research methods in mental health and psychotherapy: A guide for students and practitioners* (pp. 209-223). Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.
- Joffe, H., & Haarhoff, G. (2002). Representations of far-flung illnesses: The case of Ebola in Britain. *Social Science & Medicine*, 54(6), 955-969.
- Joffe, H., Washer, P., & Solberg, C. (2011). Public engagement with emerging infectious disease: The case of MRSA in Britain. *Psychology & Health*, 26(6), 667-683.
- Joffe, H., & Yardley, L. (2004). Content and thematic analysis. In D. F. Marks & L. Yardley (Eds.), *Research methods for clinical and health psychology* (pp. 56 – 68). London: SAGE Publications.
- Jovchelovitch, S. (1996). In defence of representations. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, 26(2), 121-135.
- Jovchelovitch, S. (2007). *Knowledge, community and culture*. New York: Routledge.

- Jovchelovitch, S. (2011). Communicative action and the dialogical imagination. In D. Hook, B. Franks & M. W. Bauer (Eds.), *Social psychology of communication* (pp. 127-151). Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jovchelovitch, S., & Gervais, M. C. (1999). Social representations of health and illness: The case of the Chinese community in England. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 9(4), 247-260.
- Jordan, E. (1995). Fighting boys and fantasy play: The construction of masculinity in the early years of school. *Gender and Education*, 7(1), 69-86. DOI: 10.1080/713668458
- Kaës, R. (1984). Representation and mentalization: From the represented group to the group process. In R. M. Farr & S. Moscovici (Eds.), *Social representations* (pp. 361 – 377). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaminer, D., Grimsrud, A., Myer, L., Stein, D. J., & Williams, D. R. (2008). Risk for post-traumatic stress disorder associated with different forms of interpersonal violence in South Africa. *Social Science & Medicine*, 67, 1589 – 1595.
DOI:10.1016/j.socscimed.2008.07.023
- Keen, M. H. (1984). *Chivalry*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kelley, K. (1999). Hermeneutics in action: Empathy and interpretation in qualitative research. In M. T. Terreblanche & K. Durrheim (Eds.), *Research in action: Applied methods for the social sciences* (pp. 398 – 420). Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Kelly, K. (2006). From encounter to text: collecting data in qualitative research. In M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim & D. Painter, *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (2nd ed.) (pp. 285 – 319). Cape Town: UCT Press.

- Kessi, S. (2011). Photovoice as a practice of re-presentation and social solidarity: Experiences from a youth empowerment project in Dar es Salaam and Soweto. *Papers on Social Representations*, 20, 7.1-7.27.
- Kessler, S. J., & McKenna, W. (1978). *Gender: An ethnomethodological approach*. New York: Wiley.
- Kimmel, M. (1987). *Changing men: new directions in research on men and masculinity*. California: SAGE Publications.
- Kimmel, M. S. (1994). Masculinity as homophobia: Fear, shame, and silence in the construction of gender identity. In H. Brod & M. Kaufman (Eds.), *Theorizing Masculinities*, (pp. 119-141). Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.
- Kimmel, M. S. (2002). Gender symmetry in domestic violence: A substantive and methodological research review. *Violence Against Women*, 8(11), 1336–1367.
- Kleinschmidt, M. (2013, February 27). Work together to heal nation. *Cape Argus*. Retrieved from Sabinet Reference database.
- Klevens, J., Bayón, M. C., & Sierra, M. (2000). Risk factors and context of men who physically abuse in Bogotá, Colombia. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 24(3), 323-332.
- Klevens, J., Shelley, G., Clavel-Arcas, C., Barney, D. D., Tobar, C., Duran, E. S.,...Esparza, J. (2007). Latinos' perspectives and experiences with intimate partner violence. *Violence Against Women*, 13, 141 – 158.
- Krause, M. (2002). Social representations of psychological problems: contents and transformations. *Social Science Information*, 41(4), 603-623.
- Kristeva, J. (1981). Women's time. *Signs*, 7(1), 13-35.

- Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- László, J. (1997). Narrative organisation of social representation. *Papers on Social Representations*, 6(2), 155 – 172.
- Langa, M., & Kiguwa, P. (2013). Violent masculinities and service delivery protests in post-apartheid South Africa: A case study of two communities in Mpumalanga. *Agenda*, 27(1), 20-31.
- Lau, U., & Stevens, G. (2012). Textual transformations of subjectivity in men's talk of gender-based violence. *Feminism & Psychology*, 1-20. DOI: 10.1177/0959353511434416
- Lavie-Ajayi, M., & Joffe, H. (2009). Social representations of female orgasm. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 14(1), 98-107.
- LeCouteur, A., & Oxlad, M. (2011). Managing accountability for domestic violence: identities, membership categories and morality in perpetrators. *Feminism & Psychology*, 21(1), 5 – 28. DOI:10.1177/0959353510375406
- Levin-Rozalis, M., Bar-On, N., & Hartaf, H. (2003). The structuring process of the social representation of violence in abusive men. *Culture Psychology*, 9(4), 361 – 382.
- Lewis, D. (2001). Writing hybrid selves: Richard Rive and Zoë Wicomb. In Z. Erasmus (Ed.), *Coloured by history, shaped by place: New perspective on coloured identities in Cape Town* (pp. 131 – 158). Cape Town: Kwela Books and South African History Online.

- Lewis, D. (2007). *The Coverage of Sexuality by the South African Print Media (July-December 2005)*. Africa Regional Sexuality Resource Centre.
- Lewis, D. (2011). Representing African sexualities. *African sexualities: A reader*, 119-216.
- Lewis, D., & Orderson, C. (2012). *Digital activism and violence against women: changing landscapes of feminist activism in Southern Africa* [Think piece]. Retrieved from: www.gender-IS-citizenship.net
- Lindegaard, M. R. (2009). Navigating terrains of violence: How South African male youngsters negotiate social change. *Social Dynamics: a journal of African studies*, 35(1), 19-35. DOI: 10.1080/02533950802666881
- Lindegaard, M. R., & Henriksen, A. (2009). Sexually active virgins: negotiating adolescent femininity, colour and safety in Cape Town. In H. Donnan & F. Magowan (Eds.), *Transgressive sex: subversion and control in erotic encounters*, (pp. 25 – 45). New York: Berghahn Books.
- Lindegaard, M. R., & Jacques, S. (2014). Agency as a Cause of Crime. *Deviant behavior*, 35(2), 85-100. DOI: 10.1080/01639625.2013.822205
- Lisak, D., & Beszterczey, S. (2007). The cycle of violence: The life histories of 43 death row inmates. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 118 – 128.
- Littlewood, R., & Lipsedge, M. (1987). *Aliens and alienists: ethnic minorities and psychiatry* (2nd Ed.). London: Unwin Hyman.
- Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lupton, D. (1999). *Risk*. New York: Routledge.

- Luyt, R., & Foster, D. (2001). Hegemonic masculine conceptualisation in gang culture. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 31(3), 1-11.
- Mabweazara, H. M., & Strelitz, L. N. (2009). Investigating the popularity of the Zimbabwean tabloid newspaper uMthunywa: A reception study of Bulawayo readers. *Ecquid Novi*, 30(2), 113-133.
- Maccoby, E. E., & Jacklin, C. N. (1974). *The psychology of sex differences*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Macdonald, M. (1995). *Representing women: myths of femininity in the popular media*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Machisa M, Jewkes R, Lowe Morna C & Rama K. (2011). *The war at home: Gender based violence indicators project*. Johannesburg: Genderlinks. Available from: <http://www.genderlinks.org.za/article/the-war-at-home---gbv-indicators-project-2011-08-26>
- Malamuth, N. M. (1981). Rape proclivity among males. *Journal of Social Issues*, 37, 138–157.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1985). The effects of aggressive pornography on beliefs in rape myths: Individual differences. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 19, 299–320.
- Mama, A. (1995). *Beyond the masks: race, gender, and subjectivity*. London: Routledge.
- Mama, A. (2001). Challenging subjects: gender and power in African contexts. *African Sociological Review*, 5(2), 63-73.

- Marcus, I. (1994). Reframing “domestic violence”: the terrorism in the home. In M. A. Fineman & R. Mykitiuk (Eds.), *The public nature of private violence* (pp. 11 – 35). New York: Routledge.
- Marková, I. (2000). Amédée or how to get rid of it: Social representations from a dialogical perspective. *Culture & Psychology*, 6(4), 419-460. DOI: 10.1177/1354067X0064002.
- Marková, I. (2003). *Dialogicality and social representations: The dynamics of mind*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Marková, I. (2008). The epistemological significance of the theory of social representations. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 38(4), 461 – 487.
- Martin, S. L., Tsui, A.O., Maitra, K., & Marinshaw, R. (1999). Domestic violence in Northern India. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 150, 417–426.
- Mason, J., & Davies, K. (2009). Coming to our senses? A critical approach to sensory methodology. *Qualitative Research*, 9(5), 587-603.
- Masoni, L. (2011). Eliciting laughter in a changing community: Humorous narratives as coping tools and as narrative currency to buy reintegration. *Fabula*, 52, 1-15. DOI 10.1515/FABL.2011.003
- Masser, B., & Abrams, D. (1999). Contemporary sexism: The relationships among hostility, benevolence and neosexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 23, 503–517.
- Mathews, S., & Abrahams, N. (2001). *Combining stories and numbers: An analysis of the impact of the Domestic Violence Act (No. 116 of 1998) on women*. Gender Advocacy Programme, MRC.

- Mathews, S., Abrahams, N., & Jewkes, R. (2013). Underreporting child abuse deaths: Experiences from a national study on child homicide. *South African Medical Journal*, 103(3), 132-133. DOI: 10.7196/SAMJ.6724
- Mathews, S., Abrahams, N., Martin, L., J., Vetten, L., van der Merwe, L., & Jewkes, R. (2004). "Every six hours a woman is killed by her intimate partner": A national study of female homicide in South Africa. MRC Policy Brief, no. 5.
- Mathews, S., Jewkes, R., & Abrahams, N. (2011). "I had a hard life": Exploring childhood adversity in the shaping of masculinities among men who killed an intimate partner in South Africa. *British Journal of Criminology*, 51, 1-18.
- Mathews, S., Jewkes, R., & Abrahams, N. (2014). "So now I'm the man": intimate partner femicide and its interconnections with expressions of masculinities in South Africa. *British Journal of Criminology*. DOI:10.1093/bjc/azu076.
- Mathews, S., Loots, L., Sikweyiya, Y., & Jewkes, R. (2012). Sexual abuse. In A. Van Niekerk, S. Suffla & M. Seedat (Eds). *Editorial: 21st century solutions for child safety*, (pp. 80 – 92). Johannesburg: PsySSA Press. 2012.
- Matzopoulos, R., Myers, J. E., Bowman, B., & Mathews, S. (2008). Interpersonal violence prevention: prioritising interventions. *South African Medical Journal*, 98(9), 682 – 290.
- Matzopoulos, R., Norman, R., & Bradshaw, D. (2004). The burden of injury in South Africa: fatal injury trends and international comparisons. In S. Suffla & A. van Niekerk (Eds.), *Crime, violence and injury prevention in South Africa: development and challenges* (pp. 9 – 21). Tygerberg, South Africa: MRC-UNISA Crime Violence and Injury Lead Programme.

- McDowell, L. (2002). Masculine discourses and dissonances: strutting 'lads', protest masculinity, and domestic respectability. *Environment and planning D: Society and Space*, 20, 97-119. DOI: 10.1068/d43j
- McMahon, A. (1993). Male readings of feminist theory: the psychologization of sexual politics in the masculinity literature. *Theory and Society*, 22(5), 675-695.
- McHugh, M. C., Livingston, N. A., & Ford, A. (2005). A postmodern approach to women's use of violence: Developing multiple and complex conceptualizations. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 29(3), 323-336.
- McKinlay, A., Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1993). Discourse analysis and social representations. In G. M. Breakwell & D. V. Canter (Eds.), *Empirical approaches to social representations* (pp. 134 – 156). Oxford: Science Publications.
- Meer, S. (2013). Feminist contributions, challenges and claims. *Agenda*, 27(1), 90-99. DOI: 10.1080/10130950.2013.798958
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Men, masculinities, and crime. In M. S. Kimmel, J. Hearn & R. W. Connell (Eds.), *Handbook of studies on men & masculinities* (pp. 196 – 212). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (2012). Engendering gendered knowledge: Assessing the academic appropriation of hegemonic masculinity. *Men and Masculinities*, 15(1), 56-76. DOI: 10.1177/1097184X11428384
- Meyers, M. (2004). African American women and violence: Gender, race, and class in the news. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 21(2), 95-118. DOI: 10.1080/07393180410001688029

- Moller, M. (2007). Exploiting patterns: A critique of hegemonic masculinity. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 16(3), 263-276. DOI: 10.1080/09589230701562970
- Moloney, G., & Walker, I. (2002). Talking about transplants: Social representations and the dialectical, dilemmatic nature of organ donation and transplantation. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 41(2), 299-320.
- Moodie, T. D., & Ndatshe, V. (1994). *Going for gold: Men, mines and migration*. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press.
- Morant, N. (2006). Social representations and professional knowledge: The representation of mental illness among mental health practitioners. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 45(4), 817-838.
- Morna, C.L., & Ndlovu, S. (2007). *Mirror on the media: gender and advertising in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: Gender Links.
- Morrell, R. (1998a). Of boys and men: Masculinity and gender in Southern African Studies. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24(4), 605-630.
- Morrell, R. (1998b). The new man?. *Agenda*, 14(37), 7-12.
- Morrell, R. (2001). *Changing men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.
- Morrell, R. (2007). Do you want to be a father? School-going youth in Durban schools at the turn of the 21st century. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala & R., Buikema (Eds.), *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 75 – 93). Lansdowne, Cape Town: UCT Press.

- Morrell, R., Jewkes, R., & Lindegger, G. (2012). Hegemonic masculinity/masculinities in South Africa: culture, power, and gender politics. *Men and Masculinities*, 1- 20. DOI: 10.1177/1097184X12438001
- Morrell, R., & Ouzgane, L. (2005). African masculinities: an introduction. In L. Ouzgane & R. Morrell (Eds.), *African masculinities: men in Africa from the late nineteenth century to the present* (pp. 1 – 20). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Morrell, R., & Swart, S. (2005). Men in the third world: Postcolonial perspectives on masculinity. In M. S. Kimmel, J. Hearn & R. W. Connell (Eds.), *Handbook of studies on men & masculinities* (pp. 90 – 113). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Morris, K., & Parry, C. (2006). South African methamphetamine boom could fuel further HIV. *Lancet Infectious Diseases*, 6(8), 471.
- Moscovici, S. (1972). Theory and society in social psychology. In J. Isreal & H. Tajfel (Eds.), *The context of social psychology: A critical assessment*. London: Academic Press.
- Moscovici, S. (1973). Foreword. In C. Herzlich (Ed.), *Health and illness: A social psychological analysis* (pp. ix – xiv). London: Academic Press.
- Moscovici, S. (1976). *Social influence and social change*. London: Academic Press.
- Moscovici, S. (1984a). The myth of the lonely paradigm: A rejoinder. *Social Research*, 51(4), 939-967.
- Moscovici, S. (1984b). The phenomenon of social representations. In R. M. Farr & S. Moscovici (Eds.), *Social representations* (pp. 3 – 69). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Moscovici, S. (1987). Answers and questions. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 17(4), 513-528.
- Moscovici, S. (1988). Notes towards a description of social representations. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 18(3), 211-250.
- Moscovici, S. (2001). Social representations: explorations in social psychology. New York: New York University Press.
- Moscovici, S. (2008). *Psychoanalysis: its image and its public*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
(Original work published in 1961 and 1976)
- Moscovici, S. (1993). *The invention of society: Psychological explanations for social phenomena* (W. D. Halls, Trans.). Polity Press.
- Moscovici, S., & Marková, I. (1998). Presenting social representations: A conversation. *Culture & Psychology*, 4(3), 371-410.
- Moscovici, S., & Marková, I. (2006). *The making of modern social psychology: the hidden story of how an international social science was created*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Mosse, G. L. (1988). *Nationalism and sexuality: Middle-class morality and sexual norms in modern Europe*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Mosse, G. L. (1996). *The image of man: the creation of modern masculinity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Murray, M. (2002). Connecting narrative and social representation theory in health research. *Social Science Information*, 41(4), 653-673.

- Murray, M., & Flick, U. (2002). Social representations of health and illness: Qualitative methods and related theories. An introduction. *Social Science Information*, 41(4), 555-558.
- Murrell, A. R., Christoff, K. A., & Henning, K. R. (2007). Characteristics of domestic violence offenders: associations with childhood exposure to violence. *Journal of Family Violence*, 22(7), 523 – 532.
- National Crime Prevention Strategy. (1996). Retrieved May 29, 2014 from http://www.crime-preventionintl.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Evenements/10th_ICPC_Colloquium/Proceedings/Bilkis_Omar.pdf
- Oktar, L. (2001). The ideological organization of representational processes in the presentation of us and them. *Discourse & Society*, 12(3), 313-346.
- Olausson, U. (2011). “We're the ones to blame”: Citizens' representations of climate change and the role of the media. *Environmental Communication*, 5(3), 281-299. DOI: 10.1080/17524032.2011.585026
- O'Neill, D. (1998). A post-structuralist review of the theoretical literature surrounding wife abuse. *Violence Against Women*, 4, 457 – 491.
- Örnebring, H. (2008). The consumer as producer—of what? User-generated tabloid content in The Sun (UK) and Aftonbladet (Sweden). *Journalism Studies*, 9(5), 771-785.
- Örnebring, H., & Jönsson, A. M. (2004). Tabloid journalism and the public sphere: A historical perspective on tabloid journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 5(3), 283-295

- O'Sullivan, L. F., Harrison, A., Morrell, R., Monroe-Wise, A., & Kubeka, M. (2006). Gender dynamics in the primary sexual relationships of young rural South African women and men. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 8, 99-113.
- Paez, D., Echebarria, A., Valencia, J., Romo, I., San Juan, C., & Vergara, A. (1991). AIDS social representations: Contents and processes. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 1, 89-104.
- Paradis, E. K. (2000). Feminist and community psychology ethics in research with homeless women. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 28(6), 839-858.
- Parenzee, P. (1998). A men and women project confronts abuse. *Agenda*, 37, 32-36.
- Parenzee, P., Artz, L., & Moul, K. (2001). *Monitoring the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act: First research report, 2000-2001*. Rondebosch, South Africa: Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town.
- Parker, I. (1992). *Discourse dynamics: Critical analysis for social and individual psychology*. London: New York Routledge.
- Parker, I. (2005). *Qualitative psychology: Introducing radical research*. Maidenhead, England: Open University Press.
- Parker, N. (2010). *An explorative study of Grade 7, Hanover Park learners' awareness of, and participation in, after-school programmes and activities* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.
- Parrot, D. J., Gallagher, K. E., & Zeichner, A. (2012). Liquid courage or liquid fear: Alcohol intoxication and anxiety facilitate physical aggression. *Substance Use & Misuse*, 47, 774-786. DOI: 10.3109/10826084.2012.667182

- Pattman, R. (2001). 'The beer drinkers say I had a nice prostitute, but the church goers talk about things spiritual': Learning to be men at a teachers' college in Zimbabwe. In R. Morrell (Ed.), *Changing men in Southern Africa* (pp. 225 – 238). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.
- Pattman, R. (2007). Researching and working with boys in Southern Africa in the context of HIV/AIDS: A radical approach. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala, & R. Buikema (Eds.), *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 33-49). Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Parry, C. D., & Dewing, S. (2006). A public health approach to addressing alcohol-related crime in South Africa. *African Journal of Drug and Alcohol Studies*, 5(1), 41-56.
- Parry, C. D., Plüddemann, A., Louw, A., & Leggett, T. (2004). The 3-metros study of drugs and crime in South Africa: Findings and policy implications. *The American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*, 30(1), 167-185. DOI: 10.1081/ADA-120029872
- Peacock, D. (2013). South Africa's Sonke Gender Justice Network: Educating men for gender equality. *Agenda*, 27(1), 128-140. DOI: 10.1080/10130950.2013.808793
- Peltzer, K., & Ramlagan, S. (2009). Alcohol use trends in South Africa. *J Soc Sci*, 18(1), 1-12.
- Phelps, J. M., & Nadim, M. (2010). Ideology and agency in ethnic identity negotiation of immigrant youth. *Papers on Social Representations*, 19, 13.1-13.27.
- Philgène, G., & Deaux, K. (2001). Introduction. In K. Deaux & G. Philgène (Eds.), *Representations of the social* (pp. 3 – 7). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

- Phoenix, A., Frosh, S., & Pattman, R. (2003). Producing contradictory masculine subject positions: Narratives of threat, homophobia and bullying in 11–14 year old boys. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59(1), 179-195.
- Pleck, E. H. (2004). *Domestic tyranny: The making of American social policy against family violence from colonial times to the present*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Portilla, K. P. (2008). Misrecognition, media and...discrimination? *Psychology and Society*, 1(1), 84 – 90.
- Posel, D. (2004). ‘Getting the nation talking about sex’: reflections on the discursive constitution of sexuality in South Africa since 1994. *Agenda*, 18(62), 53-63.
- Posel, D. (2005). The scandal of manhood: ‘Baby rape’ and the politicization of sexual violence in post-apartheid South Africa. *Culture, health & sexuality*, 7(3), 239-252.
- Poster, M. (1989). *Critical theory and poststructuralism: in search of a context*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Potter, J., & Billig, M. (1992). Re-presenting representations. *Ongoing Production on Social Representations*, 1(1), 15–20.
- Potter, J., & Edwards, D. (1999). Social representations and discursive psychology: From cognition to action. *Culture & Psychology*, 5(4), 447-458.
- Potter, J., & Litton, I. (1985). Some problems underlying the theory of social representations. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 24(2), 81-90.
- Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. London: SAGE Publications.

Presser, L. (2005). Negotiating power and narrative in research: Implications for feminist methodology. *Signs*, 30(4), 2067-2090.

Prevention of Family Violence Act (133 of 1993). Retrieved from

<http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/1993-133.pdf>

Proudlock, P., Mathews, S., & Jamieson, L. (2014). Children's right to be protected from violence: A review of South Africa's laws and policies. In P. Proudlock (Ed.), *South Africa's progress in realising children's rights: A law review* (pp. 166 – 212). Children's Institute, University of Cape Town and Save the Children South Africa.

Radley, A., & Billig, M. (1996). Accounts of health and illness: Dilemmas and representations. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 18(2), 220-240.

Ragnarsson, A., Townsend, L., Thorson, A., Chopra, M., & Ekström, A. M. (2009). Social networks and concurrent sexual relationships – a qualitative study among men in an urban South African community. *AIDS Care*, 21(10), 1253 – 1258.

Ratele, K. (2003). We black men. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27(2), 237-249. DOI: 10.1016/S0147-1767(02)00094-9

Ratele, K. (2008a). Masculinity and male mortality in South Africa. *African Safety Promotion*, 6(2), 19-41.

Ratele, K. (2008b). Analysing males in Africa: Certain useful elements in considering ruling masculinities. *African and Asian Studies*, 7(4), 515-536. DOI: 10.1163/156921008X359641

Ratele, K. (2010). Watch your man: Young black males at risk of homicidal violence. *SA Crime Quarterly*, (33), 19-24.

- Ratele, K. (2013a). Masculinities without tradition. *Politikon*, 40(1), 133-156.
- Ratele, K. (2013b). Subordinate black South African men without fear. *Cahiers d'Études africaines*, LIII (1-2), 247-268.
- Ratele, K., Fouten, E., Shefer, T., Strebel, A., Shabalala, N. & Buikema, R. (2007). 'Moffies, jock and cool guys': Boys' accounts of masculinity and their resistance in context. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala & R., Buikema (Eds.), *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 112 – 127). Lansdowne, Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Ratele, K., & Shefer, T. (2002). Stigma in the social construction of sexually transmitted diseases. In D. Hook & G. Eagle (Eds.), *Psychopathology and social prejudice* (pp. 185-206). Lansdowne: University of Cape Town Press
- Räty, H., & Snellman, L. (1992). Making the unfamiliar familiar: some notes on the criticism of the theory of social representations. *Ongoing Production on Social Representation*, 1(1), 3-13.
- Räty, H., & Snellman, L. (1998). Social representations of educability. *Social Psychology of Education*, 1(4), 359-373.
- Raudsepp, M. (2005). Why is it so difficult to understand the theory of social representations? *Culture & Psychology*, 11(4), 455-468.
- Reddy, T. (2001). The politics of naming: The constitution of coloured subjects in South Africa. In Z. Erasmus (Ed.), *Coloured by history, shaped by place: New perspective on coloured identities in Cape Town* (pp. 64 – 79). Cape Town: Kwela Books and South African History Online.

- Reicher, S. (1997). Laying the ground of a common critical psychology. In T. Ibanex & L. Iniguez (Eds.), *Critical social psychology* (pp. 83 – 94). London: SAGE Publications.
- Rich, J. A., & Grey, C. M. (2005). Pathways to recurrent trauma among young black men: traumatic stress, substance use, and the “code of the street”. *Public Health Matters*, 95 (5), 816 – 826.
- Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative Analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Rosenberg, M. L., Butchart, A., Mercy, J. ...et al. (2006). Interpersonal Violence. In D. T. Jamison, J.G. Breman *et al.* (Eds.), *Disease Control Priorities in Developing Countries* (pp. 755-770). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Reid, G., & Walker, L. (2005). Editorial introduction: Sex and secrecy: A focus on African sexualities. *Culture, health & sexuality*, 7(3), 185-194. DOI: 10.1080/13691050412331334353
- Rhodes, J. (2011). Fighting for “respectability”: Media representations of the white, “working-class” male boxing “hero”. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 35(4), 350 – 376. DOI: 10.1177/0193723511426291
- Rive, R. (1981). *Writing Black*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Robertson, J. (2000). Ethical issues and researching sensitive topics: Mature women and ‘bulimia’. *Feminism and Psychology*, 10(4), 531 – 537.

- Rose, D., Efraim, D., Gervais, M. C., Joffe, H., Jovchelovitch, S., & Morant, N. (1995). Questioning consensus in social representations theory. *Papers on Social Representations*, 4(2), 150-176.
- Ross, F. C. (1996). Diffusing domesticity: Domestic fluidity in Die Bos. *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies*, 22(1), 55-71.
- Russell, M. L., Moralejo, D. G., & Burgess, E. D. (2000). Paying research subjects: participants' perspectives. *Journal of Medical Ethics*, 26(2), 126-130.
- Ryan, C., Anastario, M., & DaCunha, A. (2006). Changing coverage of domestic violence murders: A longitudinal experiment in participatory communication. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 21(2), 209-228. DOI: 10.1177/0886260505282285
- Salo, E. (2003). Negotiating gender and personhood in the New South Africa: adolescent women and gangsters in Manenberg townships on the Cape Flats. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 6(3), 345 – 365.
- Salo, E. R. (2004). *Respectable mothers, tough men and good daughters: Producing persons in Manenberg township South Africa* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.
- Salo, E. (2006). ‘“Mans is ma soe”’: Ganging practices in Manenberg, South Africa and the ideologies of masculinity, gender and generational relations’. In E. Bay & D. Donham (Eds.), *States of violence: Politics, youth, and memory in contemporary Africa* (pp. 148 – 175). Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Salo, E. (2007). Social construction of masculinity on the racial and gendered margins of Cape Town. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala and R., Buikema, (Eds.),

- From boys to men: social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 160 – 180). Lansdowne, Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Saltzman, L. E., Fanslow, J. L., McMahon, P. M., & Shelley, G. A. (1999). *Intimate partner violence surveillance: uniform definitions and recommended data elements*, Version 1.0. Atlanta, GA: National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.
- Sandberg, L. (2011). *Getting intimate: A feminist analysis of old age, masculinity and sexuality*. Linköping: Linköping, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Gender Studies.
- Sanger, N. (2008). 'There's got to be a man in there': reading intersections between gender, race and sexuality in South African magazines. *African Identities*, 6(3), 275-291. DOI: 10.1080/14725840802223598
- Sanger, N. (2009). New women, old messages? Constructions of femininities, race and hypersexualised bodies in selected South African magazines, 2003–2006. *Social Dynamics*, 35(1), 137-148. DOI: 10.1080/02533950802667301
- Santana, M. C., Raj, A., Decker, M. R., La Marche, A., Silverman, J. G. (2006). Masculine gender roles associated with the increased sexual risk and intimate partner violence perpetration among young adult men. *Journal of Urban Health*, 83, 575 – 585.
- Santosa, S.M., Barcellosa, C., Sa' Carvalhob, M. (2006). Ecological analysis of the distribution and sociospatial context of homicides in Porto Alegre, Brazil. *Health and Place*, 12, 38-47.
- Sawyer-Kurian, K. M., Wechsberg, W. M., & Luseno, W. K., (2009). Exploring the differences and similarities between black/african and coloured men regarding

- violence against women, substance abuse, and HIV risks in Cape Town, South Africa. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 10, 13 – 29.
- Schepers, Y., & Zway, M. (2012). Adolescents' constructions of gender and sexuality. *New Voices in Psychology*, 8(2), 23-38.
- Schmitz, M. F., Filippone, P., & Edelman, E. M. (2003). Social representations of attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder, 1988–1997. *Culture & Psychology*, 9(4), 383-406.
- Schneider, E. M. (1994). The violence of privacy. In M. A. Fineman & R. Mykitiuk (Eds.), *The public nature of private violence* (pp. 36 – 58). New York: Routledge.
- Sedgwick, E. K. (2003). *Touching feeling: Affect, pedagogy, performativity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Serra, G. (2013). ANENE ALL OVER AGAIN. *The Daily Voice*. Retrieved on July 28, 2013 from *Daily Voice* databases.
- Seedat, M., van Niekerk, A., Jewkes, R., Suffla, S., & Ratele, K. (2009). Violence and injuries in South Africa: prioritising an agenda for prevention. *The Lancet*, 374, 1011-1022. DOI:10.1016/S0140-6736(09)60948-X
- Seidler, V. (1996). Masculinity and violence. In L. May, R. Strikwerda & P. D. Hopkins (Eds.), *Rethinking masculinity: philosophical explorations in light of feminism* (pp. 63 – 75). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Seidler, V. J. (2007). Masculinities, bodies, and emotional life. *Men and masculinities*, 10(1), 9-21.
- Services Charter for Victims. (2004). Retrieved on May 30, 2014 from <http://www.justice.gov.za/vc/docs/vc/vc-eng.pdf>

- Shefer, T. (2004). Psychology and the regulation of gender. In D. Hook (Ed.), *Critical psychology* (pp. 187 – 209). Lansdowne: UCT press.
- Shefer, T. (2013). Critical reflections on contemporary responses to gender violence within public, political, health and research contexts. *African Safety Promotion Journal*, 11(2), 1 - 13.
- Shefer, T., Ratele, K., Strebel, A., Shabalala, N., & Buikema, R. (2007). From boys to men: An overview. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala and R., Buikema, (Eds.), *From boys to men: social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 1 – 12). Lansdowne, Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Sibley, C. G., & Wilson, M. S. (2004). Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes toward positive and negative sexual female subtypes. *Sex Roles*, 51(11-12), 687-696. DOI: 10.1007/s11199-004-0718-x
- Sideris, T. (2004). “You have to change and you don't know how!”: Contesting what it means to be a man in a rural area of South Africa. *African Studies*, 63(1), 29-49. DOI: 10.1080/0002018042000226148
- Siegel, J. P. (2006). Dyadic splitting in partner relational disorders. *Journal of family psychology*, 20(3), 418.
- Siegel, J. P., & Forero, R. M. (2012). Splitting and emotional regulation in partner violence. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 40(2), 224-230. DOI 10.1007/s10615-011-0352-3
- Sikweyiya, Y., & Jewkes, R. (2013). Potential motivations for and perceived risks in research participation: Ethics in health research. *Qualitative health research*, 1-11. DOI: 10.1177/1049732313490076.

- Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook* (2nd Ed.). London: SAGE Publications.
- Singer, D., & Hunter, M. (1999). The experience of premature menopause: A thematic discourse analysis. *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology*, 17(1), 63-81.
- Skeggs, B. (1997). *Formations of Class & Gender: becoming respectable*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Sokoloff, N. J., & Dupont, I. (2005). Domestic violence at the intersections of race, class, and gender: challenges and contributions to understanding violence against marginalized women in diverse communities. *Violence Against Women*, 11(38), 38 – 64. doi: 10.1177/1077801204271476
- Søndergaard, D. M. (2002). Poststructuralist approaches to empirical analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 15(2), 187-204.
- Sonke Gender Justice (2014). Home. Retrieved from <http://www.genderjustice.org.za/>
- Sonkin, D. J., & Dutton, D. (2003). Treating assaultive men from an attachment perspective. *Journal of aggression, maltreatment & trauma*, 7(1-2), 105-133.
- Soothill, K., & Walby, S. (1991). *Sex crime in the news*. London: Routledge.
- Soudien, C. (2001). District Six and its uses in the discussion about non-racialism. In Z. Erasmus (Ed.), *Coloured by history, shaped by place: New perspective on coloured identities in Cape Town* (pp. 114 -130). Cape Town: Kwela Books and South African History Online.
- Smith, N. W., & Joffe, H. (2009). Climate change in the British press: the role of the visual. *Journal of Risk Research*, 12(5), 647-663

- Smith, N., & Joffe, H. (2012). How the public engages with global warming: A social representations approach. *Public Understanding of Science*, 22(1), 16-32.
- Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. (1972). The attitudes toward women scale. *JSAS Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology*, 2, 1–52.
- Squire, C. (2005). Reading narratives. *Group Analysis*, 38(1), 91-107.
- Stamp, G. H., & Sabourin, T. C. (1995). Accounting for violence: an analysis of male spousal abuse narratives. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 23, 284 – 307.
- Steenveld, L. (2004). Transforming the media: A cultural approach. *Critical Arts*, 18(1), 92-115.
- Steiner, T. J. (2006). Guinea pig duties: 5. Coercion and inducement into clinical research. *Research Ethics Review*, 2(1), 3-9.
- Strelitz, L., & Steenveld, L. (2005). You can't be serious: It's all about Africa. *Rhodes Journalism Review*, (25), 35-36.
- Steeves, H. L. (1997). *Gender violence and the press: The St. Kizito story*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies.
- Stenner, P. (1993). Discoursing jealousy. In E. Burman & I. Parker (Eds.). In *Discourse analytic research: Repertoires and readings of texts in action* (pp. 94 – 132). London: Routledge.
- Stith, S. M., Smith, D. B., Penn, C. E., Ward, D. B., & Tritt, D. (2004). Intimate partner physical abuse perpetration and victimization risk factors: a meta-analytic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 10(1), 65–98.

- Stokoe, E. H., & Edwards, D. (2006). Story formulations in talk-in-interaction. *Narrative Inquiry*, 16(1), 56-65.
- Stoner, S. A., George, W. H., Peters, L. M., & Norris, J. (2007). Liquid courage: alcohol fosters risky sexual decision-making in individuals with sexual fears. *AIDS and Behavior*, 11(2), 227-237. DOI 10.1007/s10461-006-9137-z
- Straus, M. (1999). The controversy over domestic violence by women: A methodological, theoretical, and sociology of science perspective. In X. B. Arriaga & S. Oskamp (Eds.), *Violence in intimate relationships* (pp. 17–44). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE publications.
- Straus, M. A. (1979). Measuring intrafamily conflict and violence: The conflict tactics (CT) scales. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 75-88.
- Straus, M. A., Hamby, S. L., Boney-McCoy, S., & Sugarman, D. B. (1996). The revised conflict tactics scales (CTS2) development and preliminary psychometric data. *Journal of family issues*, 17(3), 283-316.
- Strebel, A. (1993). *Women and AIDS: a study of issues in the prevention of HIV infection* (Unpublished Doctoral thesis). University of Cape Town, Cape Town.
- Strebel, A., Crawford, M., Shefer, T., Cloete, A., Henda N., Kaufman, M.,...Kalichman, S. (2006). Social constructions of gender roles, gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS in two communities of the Western Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS*, 3, 516 – 527.
- Street, S., Kimmel, E. B., & Kromrey, J. D. (1995). Revisiting university student gender role perceptions. *Sex Roles*, 33(3-4), 183-201.

- Stufflebeam, R. (1996). Behavior, biology, and the brain: addressing feminist worries about research into sex differences. In L. May, R. Strikwerda & P. D. Hopkins (Eds.), *Rethinking masculinity: philosophical explorations in light of feminism* (pp. 21 – 41). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Stuhlmiller, C. M. (1996). Narrative picturing: Ushering experiential recall. *Nursing Inquiry*, 3(3), 183-184.
- Sukhu, R. L. M. (2013). Masculinity and men's violence against known women in Trinidad – whose responsibility? *Men and Masculinities*, 16(1), 71 – 92. DOI: 10.1177/1097184X12468102
- Sullivan, T. P., Meese, K. J., Swan, S. C., Mazure, C. M., & Snow, D. L. (2005). Precursors and correlates of women's violence: Child abuse traumatization, victimization of women, avoidance coping, and psychological symptoms. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 29, 290-301.
- Swart, S. (2001). 'Man, gun and horse': hard right Afrikaner masculine identity in post-apartheid South Africa. In R. Morrell (Ed.), *Changing men in Southern Africa* (pp. 75-89). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.
- Tang, C. S., & Lai, B. P. (2008). A review of empirical literature on the prevalence and risk markers of male-on-female intimate partner violence in contemporary China, 1987–2006. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 13(1):10–28.
- Taylor, S. (2005). Self-narration as rehearsal: A discursive approach to the narrative formation of identity. *Narrative Inquiry*, 15(1), 45-50.
- Taylor, S. (2006). Narrative as construction and discursive resource. *Narrative Inquiry*, 16(1), 94-102.

- Taylor, G. W., & Ussher, J. M. (2001). Making sense of S&M: A discourse analytic account. *Sexualities*, 4(3), 293-314.
- Terry, G., & Braun, V. (2009). 'When I was a bastard': constructions of maturity in men's accounts of masculinity. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 18(2), 165 – 178.
- Thomas, L. M. (2006). The modern girl and racial respectability in 1930s South Africa. *The Journal of African History*, 47(3), 461-490.
- Thornberry, E. (2010). Sex, violence, and family in South Africa's Eastern Cape. In E. S. Burrill, R. L. Roberts & E. Thornberry, *Domestic violence and the law in colonial and post-colonial Africa* (pp. 117 – 137). Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Todorov, T. (1990) *Genres in Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tomlinson, M., Swartz, L., & Landman, M. (2003). The Hanover Park mother-infant project: Methodological challenges and compromises in a South African context. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 33(4), 205-211.
- Townsend, L., Jewkes, R., Mathews, C., Johnston, L. G., Flisher, A . J., Zembe, Y., & Chopra, M. (2010). HIV risk behaviours and their relationship to intimate partner violence (IPV) among men who have multiple female sexual partners in Cape Town, South Africa. *AIDS and Behavior*, 15(1), 132-141. DOI: 10.1007/s10461-010-9680-5
- Tsedu, T (2011, November 27). 'Facebook rapist' showed SA potential danger of social networks. *Sunday Argus*. Retrieved from Sabinet Reference database.
- Tsirogianni, S., & Andreouli, E. (2011). Beyond social cohesion: The role of 'fusion of horizons' in inter-group solidarities. *Papers on Social Representations*, 20, 5.1 – 5.25.

- Ussdin, S., Christofides, N., Malepe, L., & Maker, A. (2000). The value of advocacy in promoting social change: Implementing the new Domestic Violence Act in South Africa. *Reproductive Health Matters*, 8(16), 55-65. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3775271>
- Ussher, J. M., & Mooney-Somers, J. (2000). Negotiating desire and sexual subjectivity: Narratives of young lesbian avengers. *Sexualities*, 3(2), 183-200. DOI: 10.1177/136346000003002005
- Valsiner, J. (2003). Beyond social representations: A theory of enablement. *Papers on Social Representations*, 12, 7.1-7.6.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Van Niekerk, T. J., & Boonzaier, F. A. (2014). "The only solution there is to fight": Discourses of masculinity among South African domestically violent men. *Violence Against Women*, 1 – 21. DOI: 10.1177/1077801214555473
- Vetten, L. (2000). Paper promises, protests and petitions: state and civil society responses to violence against women in South Africa. In Y. Jung Park, J. Fedler & Z. Dangor (Eds.), *Reclaiming women's spaces: new perspectives on violence against women and sheltering in South Africa* (pp. 83 – 117), Johannesburg, South Africa: Nisaa Institute for Women's Development.
- Vetten, L., & Ratele, K. (2013). Men and violence. *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, 27(1), 4-11
- Voelklein, C., & Howarth, C. (2005). A review of controversies about social representations theory: A British debate. *Culture & Psychology*, 11(4), 431-454.

- Wagner, W., Duveen, G., Themel, M., & Verma, J. (1999). The modernization of tradition: thinking about madness in Patna, India. *Culture & Psychology*, 5(4), 413-445.
- Wagner, W., Duveen, G., Verma, J., & Themel, M. (2000). 'I have some faith and at the same time I don't believe'—cognitive polyphasia and cultural change in India. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 10(4), 301-314.
- Wagner, W., & Hayes, N. (2005). *Everyday discourse and common sense: The theory of social representations*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Waldram, J. B. (2007). Everybody has a story: Listening to imprisoned sexual offenders. *Qualitative Health Research*, 17(7), 963-970.
- Walker, L. E. A. (2001). Battering in adult relationships. In J. Worell (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of women and gender: sex similarities and differences and the impact of society on gender* (pp. 169 – 188). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Walker, L. (2005). Men behaving differently: South African men since 1994. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 7(3), 225-238.
- Washer, P. (2004). Representations of SARS in the British newspapers. *Social Science & Medicine*, 59(12), 2561-2571.
- Washer, P. (2006). Representations of mad cow disease. *Social Science & Medicine*, 62(2), 457-466.
- Washer, P., & Joffe, H. (2006). The “hospital superbug”: Social representations of MRSA. *Social Science & Medicine*, 63(8), 2141-2152.
DOI:10.1016/j.socscimed.2006.05.018

- Washer, P., Joffe, H., & Solberg, C. (2008). Audience readings of media messages about MRSA. *Journal of Hospital Infection*, 70(1), 42–47.
- Wasserman, H. (2003). Post-apartheid media debates and the discourse of identity. *Ecquid Novi*, 24(2), 218-224.
- Wasserman, H. (2006). Tackles and sidesteps: Normative maintenance and paradigm repair in mainstream reactions to South African tabloid journalism. *Communicare: Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern Africa*, 25(1), 59-80.
- Wasserman, H. (2008). Attack of the killer newspapers! The “tabloid revolution” in South Africa and the future of newspapers. *Journalism Studies*, 9(5), 786-797.
- Wasserman, H. (2010). *Tabloid journalism in South Africa: true story!* Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Watt, P. (2006). Respectability, roughness and ‘race’: Neighbourhood place images and the making of working-class social distinctions in London. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30(4), 776-797. DOI:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00688.x
- Wechsberg, W. M., Jones, H. E., Zule, W. A., Myers, B. J., Browne, F. A., Kaufman, M. R., . . . Parry, C. D. (2010). Methamphetamine (“tik”) use and its association with condom use among out-of-school females in Cape Town, South Africa. *The American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*, 36(4), 208-213. doi:10.3109/00952990.2010.493592
- Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Wengraf, T. (2001). *Qualitative research interviewing*. London: SAGE Publications.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & society*, 1(2), 125-151.

- Western, J. (1996). *Outcast Cape Town*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- Wetherell, M. (2008). Subjectivity or psycho-discursive practices? Investigating complex intersectional identities. *Subjectivity*, 22(1), 73-81. DOI:10.1057/sub.2008.7
- Wetherell, M. & Edley, N. (1999). Negotiating hegemonic masculinity: imaginary positions and psycho-discursive practices. *Feminism & Psychology*, 9(3), 335 – 356. doi: 10.1177/0959353599009003012.
- White Paper on Safety and Security. (1998). Retrieved on May 30, 2014 from http://www.policesecretariat.gov.za/downloads/white_paper_security.pdf
- Whitehead, A. (2005). Man to man violence: How masculinity may work as a dynamic risk factor. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 44(4), 411-422.
- Willig, C. (1999). Beyond appearances: A critical realist approach to social constructionism. In D. J. Nightingale & J. Cromby (Eds.), *Social constructionist psychology: A critical analysis of theory and practice* (pp. 37-51). Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method* (2nd Ed.). McGraw Hill, England: Open University Press.
- Willig, C., & Stainton-Rogers, W. (2008). Introduction. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 1 – 12). London: SAGE Publications.
- Wilson, P. J. (1969). Reputation and respectability: a suggestion for Caribbean ethnology. *Man*, 4(1), 70-84.

- Winskell, K., Obyerodhyambo, O., & Stephenson, R. (2011). Making sense of condoms: Social representations in young people's HIV-related narratives from six African countries. *Social Science & Medicine*, 72, 953 – 961.
- Wisecup, A., Robinson, D. T., & Smith-Lovin, L. (2007). The sociology of emotions. In C. D. Bryant & D. L. Peck (Eds.), *21st Century sociology: a reference handbook* (volume 2), pp. 106 – 115. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Wood, A. (2006). Correlating violence and socio-economic inequality: an empirical analysis. *Attacking the root causes of torture, poverty, inequality and violence*, 23-93.
- Wood, J. T. (2004). Monsters and victims: Male felons' accounts of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 21(5), 555–576. doi: 10.1177/0265407504045887
- Wood, K., Lambert, H., & Jewkes, R. (2007). “Showing roughness in a beautiful way”: talk about love, coercion, and rape in South African youth sexual culture. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 21(3), 277-300. DOI: 10.1525/MAQ.2007.21.3.277
- Wood, K., Lambert, H., & Jewkes, R. (2008). “Injuries are beyond love”: Physical violence in young South Africans' sexual relationships. *Medical anthropology*, 27(1), 43-69. DOI: 10.1080/01459740701831427
- Yen, C. F. (2004). Relationship between methamphetamine use and risky sexual behavior in adolescents. *The Kaohsiung journal of medical sciences*, 20(4), 160-165.
- Yllö, K. (1990). Political and methodological debates in wife abuse research. In K. Yllö & M. Bograd (Eds), *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse* (pp. 28 – 50). Newbury Park: SAGE Publications.

Xaba, T. (2001). Masculinity and its malcontents: the confrontation between 'struggle masculinity' and 'post-struggle masculinity' (1990 – 1997). In R. Morrell (Ed.), *Changing men in Southern Africa* (pp. 105 – 124). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Zhungu, N. (2013). *Social representations of AIDS and narratives of risk among Xhosa men* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.

APPENDIX A: SEEDS' DEMOGRAPHICS

	DoB	Reside & NGO	Education	Employment	Income	Relt status	Longest relt	Children	Other dependents
Jerome (Jeremy)	8/10/1974 (38 years)	Hanover Park 4 years at CASE	Matric	Employed full-time	Formal salary	Married	12 years	2 (wife's children)	2 (his brother and sister)
Nico (Nathan)	10/12/1965 (47 years)	Strand 9 years at HoM	Matric	Full-time (policeman)	Formal salary	Divorced	10 years (current partner)	4 (biological)	2 (a diabetic girl, 19 years & brother 36 years. Both unemployed)
Danny (Donny)	16/12/1963 (49 years)	Strand, Broadlands park 3 years at HoM	Grade 6 -7	Currently unemployed (informal sector)	Contributions by family members	Married	18 years	3 daughters (biological)	/
Marcelino	8/6/1993 (19 years)	Hanover Park 3 months at CASE	Grade 11	Unemployed, looking for work	He buys stuff when he has money	single	3 years	/	1 (his step-brother)
Llewelyn (Lloyd)	19/01/1972 (40 years)	Strand 2-3 years at HoM	Matric (passed with exemption)	Employed full time (at HoM)	Contributions from his mother	single	18 months	1 daughter (biological)	/
Ruben	2/01/1955 (57 years)	Strand 3-4 years at HoM	Tertiary ed (diplomas)	Sick and unable to work (volunteers at HoM)	Contributions from family members, disability grant	married	34 years	5 children (biological)	/
Quinton (Keith)	15/07/1955 (57 years)	Hanover Park 6 years at CASE	Tertiary ed (diplomas)	Unemployed, looking for work. Volunteers	Formal earnings (wife) and contributions	married	6 years (but longest	2 sons (his children) and wife's 2 children	/

				teaching kids saxophone (cultural activist)			relt 15 years)		
Mark (John)	12/11/1966 (46 years)	Hanover Park 3 years at CASE	Grade 8 - 9	Work in informal sector, not looking for permanent work	contributions	married	9 years	1 daughter	/
Reuben	18/01/1980 (32 years)	Hanover Park 6 months at CASE	Grade 8-9	Full-time	Formal earnings (from himself and fiancé)	engaged	8 years	2 biological children	Mother
Brandon (Craig)	17/8/1972 (40 years)	Hanover Park	Grade 10	Unemployed, looking for work (began volunteering at CASE after interview)	No income (must be contributions)	Divorced but in a relationship	11 years (with current partner) (married for 6 years)	2 biological children (11 and 16 years)	2 – mother and brother

Participant	FG	Seed	DoB	Reside	Education	Employment	Relt status	Longest relt	Children	Other dependents	Sex
-------------	----	------	-----	--------	-----------	------------	-------------	-----------------	----------	---------------------	-----

APPENDIX B: SOCIAL NETWORKS' DEMOGRAPHICS

1.1	1	Quinton	19/03/1985 27 years	HP	Grade 11	Unemployed, not looking for work	Living together	10 years	4	/	F
1.2	1		20/01/1990 22 years		Grade 11	Part-time	Partner	9 years	1	1 – mother	F
1.3	1		13/12/1988 23 years		Matric	Unemployed, looking for work	Single	4 years	1	/	F
1.4	1		25/06/1960 52 years		Grade 11	Part-time	Widow	20 years	2	1 – mother	F
1.5	1		29/07/1983 29 years		Grade 10	Unemployed, not looking for work	Partner	Few months	2 (non- biological)	/	F
1.6	1		28/07/1974 38 years		Grade 11	Unemployed, not looking for work	Married	13 years	3	Yes (not specified)	F
1.7	1		5/06/1957 55 years		Grade 6 - 7	Unemployed, not looking for work	Single	/	1	Yes (not specified)	F
1.8	1		29/12/1984 27 years		Grade 10	Other, not specified	Single	/	2 sons	/	F
1.9	1		26/11/1989 22 years		Grade 6 - 7	Unemployed, not looking for work	Single	/	/	/	F

2.1	2	Deon & Llewellyn	9/12/1982 29 years	Strand	Grade 10	Unemployed looking for work	single	8 years	2	/	M
2.2	2		18/5/1971 41 years		Grade 6-7	Unemployed, looking for work	Married	15 years	3 – two daughters, 1 boy	/	M
2.3	2		6/12/1991 20 years		Grade 6 - 7	Unemployed looking for work	Single	/	/	/	M
2.4	2		11/07/1969 43 years		Matric	Unemployed, looking for work	single	6 months	1	/	M
2.5	2		3/8/1989 23 years		Grade 10	Unemployed, looking for work	single	5 years	1	/	F
2.6	2		28/6/1986 28 years		Grade 8-9	Part-time	single	3-4 years	1	3 brothers	M
2.7	2		20/01/1988 24 years		Grade 8 - 9	Unemployed, looking for work	single	4 years	/	/	M
2.8	2		14/2/1973 38 years		Matric	Unemployed	Partner	5 years	5	/	M
3.1	3	Quinton & Ruben	8/10/1988 24 years	HP	Matric	Unemployed, not looking for work	Partner	2 years	/	/	M
3.2	3		27/04/1947 66 years		Grade 6 - 7	unemployed	Married	/	Yes (not specified)	6 (not specified)	F
3.3	3		18/12/1976 36 years		Grade 6 - 7	unemployed	single	4 years	1	1 – sister	F

3.4	3		24/04/1981 31		Grade 11	Full-time	Partner	1 year	/	/	F
3.5	3		14/11/1956 56 years		Grade 8 - 9	Unemployed	Single	10 years	Yes (not specified)	/	F
4.1	4	Quinton & Marcelino	1/4/1987 25 years	HP	Grade 10	housewife	Partner	7 years	1	/	F
4.2	4		22/05/1971 41 years		Grade 11	unemployed	Cohabiting	(very long)	3	1 – father	F
4.3	4		30/3/1985 27 years		Grade 8 -9	unemployed	Cohabiting	5 years	1	Yes (non- specified)	M
4.4	4		14/05/1969 43 years		Grade 8 -9	Part-time (at cresche)	Divorced	16 years married	5 biological and 1 stepson	/	F
4.5	4		27/7/1980 32 years		Matric	Housewife	Partner	9 years	1	Yes, non specified	F
5.1	5	Reuben & Nico	24/11/1969 43 years	Strand	Grade 11 and diplomas	Unemployed	Divorced	15 years	2	/	F
5.2	5		20/2/1967 45 years		Matric and diplomas	Full-time	Cohabiting	6 years	1	1 - girlfriend	M
5.3	5		9/2/1972 40 years		Grade 11	unemployed	single	/	/	/	M
5.4	5		9/08/1977 35 years		Grade 10	Informal sector	single	11 years	4	3	M

5.5	5		26/6/1970 33 years		Grade 6 -7	unemployed	Partner	8 years	5	/	M
5.6	5		09/10/1962 50 years		Grade 8-9	unemployed	Divorced and single	20 years married	5	/	M
6.1	6	Danny & Llewelyn	17/04/1988 24 years	Strand	Grade 8 -9	Informal sector	cohabiting	5 years	1	/	M
6.2	6		8/10/1980 32 years		Grade 8-9	Full-time	single	3 years	2	/	M
6.3	6		19/05/1981 31 years		Grade 11 and diplomas	unemployed	single	4 years	3	/	F
6.4	6		2/9/1975 37 years		Matric & diplomas in electrical & sound engineering	unemployed	single	5 years	1	/	M
6.5	6		1/12/1987 34 years		Grade 6-7	Part-time	single	11 years	1	1 – mother	M
7.1	7	Jerome & Brandon	31/07/1987 25 years	HP	Grade 11	unemployed	married	8 years	1	/	F
7.2	7		20/04/1981 32 years		Grade 8-9	Full-time as domestic worker	married	1 year	3	/	F
7.3	7		3/1/1975 38 years		Grade 10	Self- employed part-time	single	1 year	/	1 – father	M
7.4	7		5/11/1940 72 years		Grade 10	Pensioner	Married	47 years	5	1 - grandchild	F

7.5	7	8/5/1959 53 years	Grade 6 - 7	unemployed	married	30 years	3 (one passed away, so 2 are living)	/	F
7.6	7	15/10/1949 63 years	Grade 8-9	unemployed	Divorce for 16 years	Married for 9 years	5 (one passed away, so 4 living)	Grandchildren (number not specified)	F
7.7	7	15/11/1969 43 years	Matric	unemployed	single	5 years	2	2 – parents	M

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORMS FOR INTERVIEWS

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



Department of Psychology

Men's stories about their own violence against women.

1. Invitation and purpose

You are invited to take part in a research study about men's stories about their own violence. I am a researcher from the Department of Psychology at University of Cape Town.

2. Procedures

If you decide to take part in this study, I will ask you to do 2 different interviews with me. Both interviews will be done during the programme and they will be spaced about two weeks apart. The interviews will be focused on your experiences of violence and what you understand about violence. The interviews should take no longer than 90 minutes each.

You will also be asked to locate 6 of your closest friends and family. They will take part in a casual, informal discussion about how they view violence against women and their experiences of violence. You will not be expected to attend this discussion.

3. Inconveniences

If at any point of the interview you talk about experiences that make you feel anxious or distressed, you can choose to stop the interview at any point without any negative consequences.

The interviews will be conducted at the agency you attend and you might have to do the interview on a separate day to when you attend the agency for a session. However, the most convenient time for you and the researcher will be arranged.

4. Benefits

You are given an opportunity to share your views and experiences and your information will contribute to the larger purpose of understanding men's beliefs about their own violence.

5. Privacy and confidentiality

The interviews will be tape-recorded. Therefore, the researcher will take strict precautions to safeguard your personal information throughout the study. Your information will be kept in a locked file cabinet without your name and other personal identifiers. Once the study is complete, your tape-recorded information will be stored for a further 5 years and after this period it will be destroyed.

While this research will be used for educational purposes, there is a chance that this work might be published in an academic journal. In this case, your identity will still be kept confidential.

Interviews will be conducted in a private room at the agency you attend.

6. Money matters

Your interview:

You will not be paid for taking part in the study but you will receive R40 to help cover the costs of transportation.

Discussion with your friends and family:

For each of your friends or family members that participate in the discussion, you will receive a Pick n Pay voucher to the value of R20. You can then receive a total of R120 if all 6 people attend the discussion.

7. Contact details

If you have questions, concerns or complaints about the study, please contact the researcher, Taryn van Niekerk on 072 219 8875 or at Taryn.vanniekerk@uct.ac.za

If you have any questions about your rights as a study participant, or concerns about the research, you may talk to Dr Floretta Boonzaier at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town (UCT), South Africa, 021 – 650 3429.

8. Signatures

(Participant's name)_____ has been informed of the nature and purpose of the procedures described above including any risks involved

in it performance. He has been given time to ask any questions and these question and these questions have been answered to the best of the researcher's ability.

Researcher's Signature

Date

I have been informed about this research study and understand its purpose, possible benefits, risks, and inconveniences. I agree to take part in this research as a participant. I know that I am free to withdraw this consent and quit this project at any time, and that doing so will not cause me any penalty.

Participant's Signature

Date

PERMISSION TO TAPE-RECORD INTERVIEWS

I understand that the interview will be tape-recorded and that the researcher will take strict precautions to safeguard my personal information throughout the study.

Participant's Signature

APPENDIX D: FOCUS GROUP CONSENT FORMS

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



Department of Psychology

Peoples' beliefs about violence against women.

1. Invitation and purpose

You are invited to take part in a research study about peoples' beliefs about violence against women. I am a researcher from the Department of Psychology at University of Cape Town.

2. Procedures

If you decide to take part in this study, I will ask you to participate in a focus group, consisting of about five other people, to informally discuss your views and opinions about violence against women. This discussion should take no longer than 90 minutes.

3. Inconveniences

If at any point of the interview you talk about experiences that make you feel anxious or distressed, you can choose to stop the interview at any point without any negative consequences.

The focus groups will be conducted at a nearby community hall/community organisation and you might have to take part in the discussion on a weekend or a week-day evening. However, the most convenient time for you, the rest of the group members and the researcher will be arranged.

4. Benefits

You are given an opportunity to share your views and experiences and your information will contribute to the larger purpose of understanding peoples' beliefs about violence against women.

You will also be provided with a sheet outlining all the necessary facts about violence against women and the services available to those affected by violence.

5. Privacy and confidentiality

The focus group discussions will be tape-recorded. Therefore, the researcher will take strict precautions to safeguard your personal information throughout the study. Your information will be kept in a locked file cabinet without your name and or other personal identifiers. Once the study is complete, your tape-recorded information will be stored for a further 5 years and after this period it will be destroyed.

While this research will be used for educational purposes, there is a chance that this work might be published in an academic journal. In this case, your identity will still be kept confidential.

Focus groups will be conducted in a private, enclosed area.

6. Money matters

You will not be paid for taking part in the study but you will receive R40 to help cover the costs of transportation.

7. Contact details

If you have questions, concerns or complaints about the study, please contact the researcher, Taryn van Niekerk on 072 219 8875 or at Taryn.vanniekerk@uct.ac.za

If you have any questions about your rights as a study participant, or concerns about the research, you may talk to Dr Floretta Boonzaier at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town (UCT), South Africa, 021 – 650 3429.

8. Signatures

(Participant's name)_____ has been informed of the nature and purpose of the procedures described above including any risks involved in it performance. He has been given time to ask any questions and these question and these questions have been answered to the best of the researcher's ability.

Researcher's Signature

Date

I have been informed about this research study and understand its purpose, possible benefits, risks, and inconveniences. I agree to take part in this research as a participant. I know that I am free to withdraw this consent and quit this project at any time, and that doing so will not cause me any penalty.

Participant's Signature

Date

PERMISSION TO TAPE-RECORD INTERVIEWS

I understand that the interview will be tape-recorded and that the researcher will take strict precautions to safeguard my personal information throughout the study.

Participant's Signature

APPENDIX E: EXAMPLE #1 OF DRAWING TASK



EXAMPLE #2 OF DRAWING TASK



EXAMPLE #3 OF DRAWING TASK

HATE
SHAME
ADDICTION:
HUMILIATION
ANGER
ABUSE
NEGATIVE HOME VIBE
DOMINATING



APPENDIX F: COUPONS TO RECRUIT SOCIAL NETWORK

MEMBERS

COUPON 1: To be handed out to one close friend or family member. This excludes your girlfriend or wife.

You are invited to take part in a casual, informal discussion about your views around violence against women. You will not be paid for taking part in the study but you will receive R40 to help cover the travel costs. Please contact **Taryn on 072 219 8875 or at Taryn.vanniekerk@uct.ac.za** if you are interested in taking part. Convenient dates and times will be arranged for you. Venue to be confirmed. Thank you!

COUPON 2: To be handed out to one close friend or family member. This excludes your girlfriend or wife.

You are invited to take part in a casual, informal discussion about your views around violence against women. You will receive R40 to help cover the travel costs. Please contact **Taryn on 072 219 8875 or at Taryn.vanniekerk@uct.ac.za** if you are interested in taking part. Convenient dates and times will be arranged for you. Venue to be confirmed. Thank you!

COUPON 3: To be handed out to one close friend or family member. This excludes your girlfriend or wife.

You are invited to take part in a casual, informal discussion about your views around violence against women. You will receive R40 to help cover the travel costs. Please contact **Taryn on 072 219 8875 or at Taryn.vanniekerk@uct.ac.za** if you are interested in taking part. Convenient dates and times will be arranged for you. Venue to be confirmed. Thank you!

COUPON 4: To be handed out to one close friend or family member. This excludes your girlfriend or wife.

You are invited to take part in a casual, informal discussion about your views around violence against women. You will receive R40 to help cover the travel costs. Please contact **Taryn on 072 219 8875 or at Taryn.vanniekerk@uct.ac.za** if you are interested in taking part. Convenient dates and times will be arranged for you. Venue to be confirmed. Thank you!

COUPON 5: To be handed out to one close friend or family member. This excludes your girlfriend or wife.

You are invited to take part in a casual, informal discussion about your views around violence against women. You will receive R40 to help cover the travel costs. Please contact **Taryn on 072 219 8875 or at Taryn.vanniekerk@uct.ac.za** if you are interested in taking part. Convenient dates and times will be arranged for you. Venue to be confirmed. Thank you!

COUPON 6: To be handed out to one close friend or family member. This excludes your girlfriend or wife.

You are invited to take part in a casual, informal discussion about your views around violence against women. You will receive R40 to help cover the travel costs. Please contact **Taryn on 072 219 8875 or at Taryn.vanniekerk@uct.ac.za** if you are interested in taking part. Convenient dates and times will be arranged for you. Venue to be confirmed. Thank you!

Daddy made mommy sore

now mommy is gone



SLAUGHTERED: Shauna Pelous's throat was slit



SCENE: Murder at 100 Westridge in Westridge

A TWO-YEAR-OLD boy watched in horror as his father allegedly slit his mother's throat in front of her home.

The Daily Voice has learned Morganst Zayed Wallace — the son of a suspected Muslim police officer — repeatedly threatened his former girlfriend Shauna Pelous, 22, before she was killed in broad daylight.

She had even obtained a protection order against her ex-boyfriend four months before her death after he threatened to kill her.

Witnesses say the 23-year-old walked up behind her and stood at the gate of her home in Westhoff Street, Westridge, Mitchell's Plain.

Wallace, who was dressed in a hoodie, allegedly took out a knife and slit Shauna's throat without saying a single word while their two-year-old son watched.

He was 4 years old, Ewey L. Cunningham, 49, last night revealed how the couple's murdered son told family what he saw.

Attack

"He said, 'My daddy made my mommy sore, now my mommy is gone'," Ewey recalls the Daily Voice.

After the attack, Wallace allegedly walked off down the street as his ex-wife lay dying on the road.

She was in a hospital last night and how things went around the children's ward later Wednesday.

"She was scared by the police and her son was in the yard," a 33-year-old woman, who does not want to be identified, told the Daily Voice.

"He [Wallace] didn't see me and he lifted his hand and I thought he was going to smack her again. But before I could scream, he stabbed her in the neck."

The emergency services arrived at the scene a short while later but Shauna died as a result

WOMAN'S THROAT IS SLIT IN FRONT OF TOT

EXCLUSIVE BY
Genevieve Serra

of her injuries on the way to hospital.

Shauna's heart broken mother, 48, fought back tears last night as she explained how her daughter was allegedly stabbed, threatened and shot by Wallace.

"She looks in of it with him and he says from the age of 10 he didn't want him anymore," Shauna says.

"He got involved in drugs and gangs and she didn't want that life for her son."

"He started smoking her and once he

even had her when she got out of the road. Then she opened up a case of assault."

A close friend, who did not want to be identified, says Shauna applied for a protection order on August 22.

"She defied the country's law and she showed no regard for her own life," she says.

Wallace will today run a gauntlet of hate when he appears before Mitchell's Plain Magistrate's Court where he will be charged with his ex-girlfriend's murder.

He will be arrested by a group of

community members who will bring 1 000 signatures in a petition against bail and for postponing the prosecution order.

Wallace is the son of a 40-year-old Mitchell's Plain Police Station, and the Daily Voice has learned he has had his own over 100 calls 12 hours after the killing.

Shauna is the girlfriend of well-known Mitchell's Plain businessman, Harry Mervin, who owns a Cape Fish Franchise.

The case bears a strong resemblance to the case of Pheona Potane, who was neck-snapped by her ex-boyfriend Abdul Razaq in April 2009.



HEARTBROKEN: Shauna's mother, 48



ACCUSED: Cop's son Morganst Zayed Wallace, 23



SO FERO: Harry Mervin

A TWO-YEAR-OLD boy watched in horror as his father allegedly slit his mother's throat in front of her home. The *Daily Voice* has learned Moegamat Zayd Wallace – the son of a respected Muslim police officer – repeatedly threatened his former girlfriend Shauné Pekeur, 22, before she was killed in broad daylight. She had even obtained a protection order against her ex-boyfriend four months before her death after he threatened to kill her. Witnesses say the 23-year-old walked up behind her as she stood at the gate of her home in Boshoff Street, Westridge, Mitchell's Plain. Wallace, who was dressed in a hoodie, allegedly took out a knife and slit Shauné's throat without saying a single word while their little son played nearby. Shauné's aunt, Beryl Cunningham, 49, last night revealed how the couple's traumatised son told family what he saw.

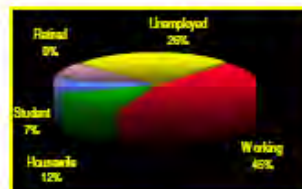
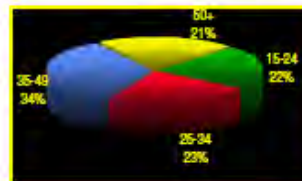
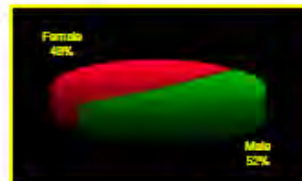
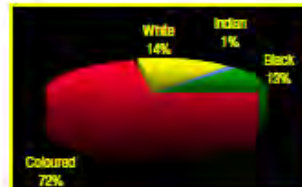
"He said, 'My daddy made my mommy sore, now my mommy is gone'," Beryl tells the *Daily Voice*. After the attack, Wallace allegedly walked off down the street as his ex-wife lay dying on the road. *Stunned neighbours last night related how they witnessed the chilling murder last Wednesday*. "Shauné stood by the gate and her son was in the yard," a 33-year-old woman who does not want to be identified tells the *Daily Voice*. "He [Wallace] didn't see me and he lifted his hand and I thought he was going to smack her again. But before I could scream, he stabbed her in the neck." The emergency services arrived at the scene a short while later but Shauné died as a result of her injuries on the way to hospital. Shauné's heartbroken mother Ursula Pekeur, 48, fought back tears last night as she explained how her daughter was allegedly stalked, threatened and abused by Wallace. "She broke it off with him six or seven months ago and she didn't want him anymore," Ursula says. *"He got involved in drugs and gangs and she didn't want that life for their son"*. "He started stalking her and once he even beat her when she got out of the taxi. Then she opened up a case of assault." A close friend, who did not want to be identified, says Shauné applied for a protection order on August 22. *"He defied the country's law and he showed no regard for human life," she says*. Wallace will today run a gauntlet of hate when he appears before Mitchell's Plain Magistrates' Court where he will be charged with his ex-girlfriend's murder. He will be greeted by angry community members who will bring 1 000 signatures in a petition against bail and for contravening the protection order. Wallace is the son of a sergeant at Mitchell's Plain Police Station, and the *Daily Voice* has learned he handed his son over to cops 12 hours after the killing. *Shauné is the grandchild of well-known Mitchell's Plain businessman, Harry Mentoer, who owns Cape Fish Processors*. The case bears a strong resemblance to that of Firdous Fortune, whose neck was allegedly slit by her ex-husband Abdul Rudolph in April 2009.

APPENDIX H: DAILY VOICE READER PROFILE



DAILY VOICE average Issue readers in Profile

- **Daily Voice** has 585,000 readers with 513,000 of them living within the city limits of Cape Town
- **Daily Voice** is an outrageous, thrilling, entertaining read for working class people
- The **Daily Voice** lives its motto: "Ons skrik vir Niks"
- **Daily Voice** is loud and proud in capturing everyday life of the Cape community
- 16% of **Daily Voice** readers own, use or maintain a motor vehicle
- 46% of **Daily Voice** readers have Matric or better
- 36% of **Daily Voice** readers are in LSM 8-10
- 34% of **Daily Voice** readers are in LSM 6-7
- Home language:
 - 41% English
 - 49% Afrikaans
 - 9% Xhosa
- **Daily Voice** readers are an economically viable market segment:
 - 74% are partly or responsible for household shopping
 - 73% are banked while 21% access the internet in any given week
 - 35% buy women's clothing
 - 29% buy children's clothing
 - 34% buy men's clothing
- Radio stations listened past 7 days :
 - Heart fm 47%
 - Good Hope fm 42%
 - Kfm 35%

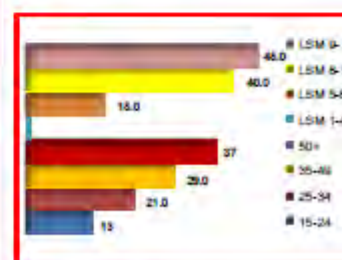
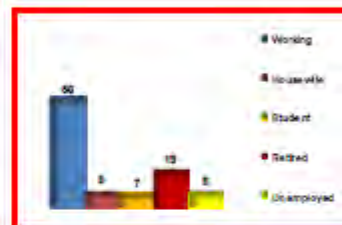
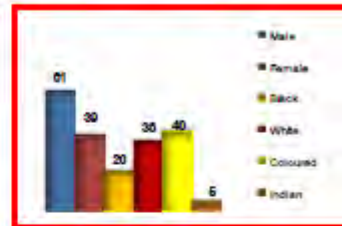


APPENDIX I: CAPE ARGUS READER PROFILE

Cape Argus

CAPE ARGUS average issue readers in Profile

- Cape Argus has 319,000 average issue readers.
- Circulation: 30,319 (ABC: Jan – Mar 2014)
- 258,000 or 86% of Cape Argus readers live in the Cape Peninsula. This compares with 123,000 Peninsula residents who choose to read Die Burger.
- Cape Argus readers are independent minded and have entrepreneurial flair.
- Cape Argus is a quality morning and afternoon newspaper unashamedly written for Cape Town's broader middle to upper class. The publication covers the latest news and sports with a strong local focus.
- 49% of Cape Argus readers have Matric and 20% have some form of post matric tertiary education.
- Most Cape Argus readers fall within LSM 8 to 10, whilst 45% are in LSM 9-10.
- Cape Argus readers have a relatively comfortable life with an average monthly household income of R15,259.
- Cape Argus readers are becoming increasingly computer literate with 55% accessing the Internet during any given week.
- 88% of readers have at least one account with a financial institution.
- 86% of readers are responsible for household shopping.



APPENDIX J: SAARF AMPS FIGURES FOR DAILY VOICE & CAPE ARGUS JAN-DEC 2012

AVERAGE ISSUE READERSHIP OF NEWSPAPERS / MAGAZINES

INFORMANTS POPULATION ('000)	AMPS Jul '10 - Jun '11					AMPS Jan - Dec '11					AMPS Jul '11 - Jun '12					AMPS Jan - Dec '12				
	TOTAL TOTAL					TOTAL TOTAL					TOTAL TOTAL					TOTAL TOTAL				
	25180	25180				25180	25180				25182	25182				25108	25108			
	34920	34920				34934	34934				34934	34934				34935	34935			
	'000s	%	±	%	± '000	'000s	%	±	%	± '000	'000s	%	±	%	± '000	'000s	%	±	%	± '000
DAILY NEWSPAPERS																				
BEELD	511	1.5	0.15	51		483	1.3	0.14	49		426	1.2	0.13	47		441	1.3	0.14	49	
BURGER	470	1.4	0.15	49		458	1.3	0.14	49		471	1.3	0.14	49		497	1.4	0.15	51	
BUSINESS DAY	79	0.2	0.06	19		62	0.2	0.06	19		68	0.2	0.06	19		59	0.2	0.06	19	
CAPE ARGUS	321	0.9	0.12	40		287	0.8	0.11	38		288	0.8	0.11	38		294	0.8	0.11	38	
CAPE TIMES	231	0.7	0.10	35		225	0.6	0.10	33		261	0.7	0.10	38		258	0.7	0.10	38	
CITIZEN	379	1.1	0.13	44		508	1.5	0.15	52		519	1.5	0.15	52		451	1.3	0.14	49	
DAILY DISPATCH	261	0.8	0.11	37		232	0.7	0.10	36		237	0.7	0.10	36		238	0.7	0.10	36	
DAILY NEWS	377	1.1	0.13	44		353	1.0	0.12	43		342	1.0	0.12	43		295	0.8	0.11	38	
DAILY SUN	5220	15.3	0.44	151		5581	15.9	0.45	158		5689	16.2	0.46	159		5554	15.9	0.45	158	
DAILY VOICE	591	1.7	0.16	54		556	1.6	0.16	54		493	1.4	0.15	51		483	1.3	0.14	49	
DFA	82	0.2	0.06	19		78	0.2	0.06	19		76	0.2	0.06	19		76	0.2	0.06	19	
HERALD	236	0.7	0.10	35		238	0.7	0.10	36		242	0.7	0.10	36		257	0.7	0.10	36	
ISOLEZWE	756	2.2	0.18	82		912	2.6	0.20	89		887	2.5	0.19	87		943	2.7	0.20	70	
MERCURY	247	0.7	0.10	35		225	0.6	0.10	33		237	0.7	0.10	36		234	0.7	0.10	36	
NEWAGE						30	0.1	0.04	14		87	0.2	0.06	19		107	0.3	0.07	24	
PRETORIA NEWS	108	0.3	0.07	23		126	0.4	0.08	27		147	0.4	0.08	27		141	0.4	0.08	27	
SON	1132	3.3	0.22	75		1007	3.1	0.21	75		1058	3.0	0.21	74		1102	3.2	0.22	76	
SOWETAN	1618	4.8	0.26	90		1722	4.9	0.27	93		1651	4.7	0.26	91		1646	4.7	0.26	91	
THE STAR	576	1.7	0.16	54		640	1.8	0.16	57		683	2.0	0.17	60		615	1.8	0.16	57	
THE TIMES	313	0.9	0.12	40		522	0.9	0.12	41		342	1.0	0.12	43		287	0.8	0.11	38	
VOLKSBLAD	178	0.5	0.09	30		182	0.5	0.09	30		148	0.4	0.08	27		155	0.4	0.08	27	
THE WITNESS	147	0.4	0.08	27		119	0.3	0.07	24		116	0.3	0.07	24		134	0.4	0.08	27	
ANY "AMPS" DAILY NEWSPAPER	10316	30.3	0.57	193		10761	30.8	0.57	199		10808	30.9	0.57	199		10795	30.9	0.57	200	